TEMPLES OF ORISSA

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DIPAK RANJAN DAS

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The Study of A Sub-style

DIPAKRANJAN DAS

AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
DELHI
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To
the memory of
David McCutchion

PREFACE

Sustained efforts of scholars have reconstructed, in broad outlines, the picture of Orissan temple architecture. Certain periods of the history of this architecture have also been treated in great details. But there still remains many little or inadequately known facets of the temple architecture of this region. One such facet is constituted by a group of temples of western Orissa. I became vaguely aware of this fact when in 1971 I, along with Sri T.P. Santra and late lamented David McCutchion, explored various parts of the Balangir and the Phulbani Districts. This tour enabled us to visit the Kosaleśvara temple at Baidyanath in the Balangir District before it was taken by the Orissa State Archaeological Department for what it means as conservation. This temple suggested to me that in Orissa the temple architecture did not develop along a unilinear track. In the succeeding years, I made further probings in western Orissa for tracing the origin and evolution of the architectural style exemplified by the Kosaleśvara. The present work is the outcome of these investigations.

David McCutchion, while accompanying me in my first tour in western Orissa, contacted an unidentified disease and died shortly after returning to Calcutta. In his untimely death, not only the scholarly world was deprived of a pioneer in the field of east Indian art and architecture but also I lost a very good and valuable friend.

To pay my respect to the departed soul this monograph is dedicated to the memory of whom Sri Santra and I used to address as Davidbabu.

Dept. of Ancient Indian
History & Culture,
Calcutta University,
1st January, 1982

D.R. Das

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ABBREVIATIONS

AR. AS	: *Artibus Asiae*
ASI, AR	: *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
ASIR	: A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*
ASI, NIS	: *Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*
EI	: *Epigraphia Indica*
IHQ	: *Indian Historical Quarterly*
JASB	: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JASB, L	: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*
JISOA	: *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*
OHRJ	: *Orissa Historical Research Journal*

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INTRODUCTION

In Orissa, temples generally conform to two principal types, which the local canons describe as the *rekha* and the *bhadra deulas* respectively. Often the *rekha* and the *bhadra* are juxtaposed with the former becoming the sanctuary and the latter the forward hall. The precedence for such a composition in Orissa may be found in some 7th-8th century temples in which the sanctuary is preceded by a rectangular hall. Apart from the rectangular and the *bhadra* types of forward hall, described commonly as the *mukhaśālā* in this region,[1] another type is also known. The *mukhaśālā* of this variety has a square plan with two openings, one providing entry to the hall and the other, opposite the former, leading to the *garbha-gṛha* (sanctum chamber). A row of pilasters or engaged pillars at the sides and a group of four pillars standing in a square formation in the centre of the hall support a frame of architraves. Slabs of stone, laid side by side on this frame, provide the necessary cover for the hall. In a few instances, iron bars are placed on the architraves to give additional support to the ceiling-slabs. Sometimes the square frame of architraves on the four central pillars is superimposed by one or two courses of masonry. As a result, the ceiling in the centre of the hall rises to a higher level than that of the ceiling at the sides. The consequent lifting of the central section of the roof above its sides facilitates easy drainage of rain-water. An elaboration in the scheme of such halls, noticed at least in two cases, provides in the centre of the hall a raised dais with four pillars at its four corners and two balconied windows projecting from its two side walls.

The extant examples of the *mukhaśālā* of third category are not many. There are only five known temples, all from western Orissa, in which the *baḍa-deula*[2] is preceded by such a *mukhaśālā*. They are the Kosaleśvara at Baidyanath, the Kapileśvara at Charda and the Someśvara at Ranipur-Jharial in the Balangir District; the Narasiṁhanātha near Paikamal in the Sambalpur District and the Baḍa Dadhivāmana at Khariar in the Kalahandi District. Importance of these temples for constituting a distinct group on account of the type of *mukhaśālās* they possess is enhanced by the *deulas* of some of them representing significant stages in the evolution of Orissan temple architecture. These temples, therefore, deserve more than a casual glance at them.

THE TEMPLES

1. THE KOSALEŚVARA TEMPLE AT BAIDYANATH[3]

Now in a very bad state of preservation, the Kosaleśvara temple once consisted of a *baḍa deula* and a *mukhaśālā* with a connecting vestibule in between them. Unable to withstand centuries of neglect, the *baḍa deula* and the vestibule have long disappeared. The roof of the *mukhaśālā* has been reduced to a shapeless heap of debris overgrown by vegetation. It is only in the interior that one can recognise what makes the structure even in its ruins a remarkable monument.

The *mukhaśālā* (Pl. 1 and Fig. 1), a brick and stone construction, is approached through a gateway in the east. The gateway has two heavy jambs supporting a stone lintel with the figure of Gajalakṣmī carved in the centre. As will be shown later, two stone sculptures, one of Gaṇeśa (Pl. 43) and the other of Kārttika (Pl. 44), standing loose nearby, were originally fixed to the two sides of the gateway. Crossing the gateway one enters the *mukhaśālā*, where, in a peristylar scheme, twelve engaged pillars go round the hall. In the centre, there is a raised platform. At its four corners stand four pillars. The pillars in the hall are disposed in such a way that the frame of the architraves that rests on them makes a chess-board pattern with square and rectangular boxes. These boxes are spanned by overlapping courses of brick masonry and then spanned by stone slabs (Pl. 17).

On the north and south of the *mukhaśālā* project two balconied windows (Pl. 15). Each of them is provided with a *kakṣāsana*, a balustrated railing and a flat roof on pillars. At the rear of the hall is the door leading to the lost vestibule (Pl. 16). On the two outer jambs of the door-frame are carved two Saivite *dvārapālas*. On its two inner jambs appear the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The lintel supported by the jambs bears the representation of *navagrahas*. Below the planet-slab is another panel showing the image of Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu.

An interesting point in the construction of the Kosaleśvara temple is that a frame in stone, almost like the steel-frame of a modern structure, was first erected and then the building was completed with bricks. Excepting the pillars, entrance doorway, balconied windows and architraves, the rest of the construction is in bricks.[4] A lithic frame in a brick structure is not common. But the brick temple at Ranipur Jharial (Balangir District) has the frames of the *mukhaśālā* and the sanctum built in stone. The ruined sun temple at Dabthu (Gaya District, Bihar) had its *mukhaśālā* built in the same way as it was built at Baidyanath. The brick temple at Tinduli (Fatehpur District, U.P.) shows the employment of stone in the construction of the entrance vestibule and the sanctum cella.

No account of the Kosaleśvara will be complete without a reference to the rich treasure of sculptures that the *mukhaśālā* houses (Pls. 32-40; 43-44). These sculptures are set against the bases of the engaged pillars at the sides of the hall and those of similar pillars supporting the roofs of the two balconies. Besides, some of the balustars fencing the balconies are also sculptured. All these sculptures are executed in alto relievo. Sculptures abutting the engaged pillars depict divine images. Of such images only two, viz. Hari-Hara

(Pl. 39) and Ardhanārīśvara are *in situ*. A Naṭarāja image, presently broken into two pieces and lying loose, seems to have once stood at the base of one of the engaged pillars. The sculptures adorning the balconied windows depict both secular and divine figures.

Unfortunately, some of the sculptures of the Kosaleśvara are badly damaged, and others are indifferently preserved. Thus the almost life-size images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā flanking the passage to the shrine chamber are covered with a thick application of sandal wood and turmeric paste. But, from what remains, the images appear to closely resemble the river goddesses found at Kharod (Bilaspur District, M.P.) and Pujaripali (Raigarh District, M.P.), both situated in what was known in ancient times as (Dakṣiṇa) Kosala. Common to all of these are their execution in alto relievo, their height, their stance, and the canopied umbrella overhead. Nowhere was slenderness the aim of the sculptor, but too-great heaviness also was avoided. The fully formed bodies stand in relaxed attitude. Outstanding in quality is the *Śālabhañjikā*, shown leaning against a tree in a slight *tribhaṅga* (Pl. 34); one almost feels that the tree is transferring its pliability to the delicately modelled nymph. Exhibiting similar plasticity and grace are the damsel looking at a mirror (Pl. 35) and the lady raising in one hand the end of her garment (Pl. 36). A goddess in *abhaya-mudrā*, though more conventional in form as befits her divinity, is not very different (Pl. 40). The erotic couple is another example of the range of sculptures of the Kosaleśvara (Pl. 38). The emotional intensity of this group raises it above the level of similar compositions elsewhere.

Even some of the icons, for all their static attitudes, are charged with a concentrated energy.

Kṛṣṇa killing Vṛṣāsura and Keśī (Pl. 37), and what seems to be the same god playing on a lute are three other sculptures on the balusters of the balconied windows that are fairly preserved. These sculptures, like the wall surface, were originally finished in stucco, a medium that enabled the artist to lend delicate lines and modelled details to the stone carving. This outer coating is gone; but the remaining core, far from being a mere skeleton, is a complete sculpture in itself.

Once the *apsarases* at Baidyanath were standing under demi-medallion-like canopies some of which are still preserved. On their underside are carved figures of flying Vidyādhara couples (Pl. 32 & 33). Holding a garland or playing on *vīṇā* they seemingly float in the space with such effortless grace that their not too slender bodies become almost weightless.

The wall of the *mukhaśālā* was decorated with moulded bricks, niches and pilasters entwined with snake coils. The base consisted of four mouldings, viz. *khurā*, *kumbha*, *khurā* and *basanta*, and was relieved by *caitya*-window motif. In the interior, the four pillars, enclosing the raised dais of the *mukhaśālā*, are extremely well executed. Each of them has a *ghaṭa-pallava* base on a square pedestal. The shaf is divided into square and octagonal sections. The lower part of the octagonal section has its eight facets displaying alternately a *kīrti-*

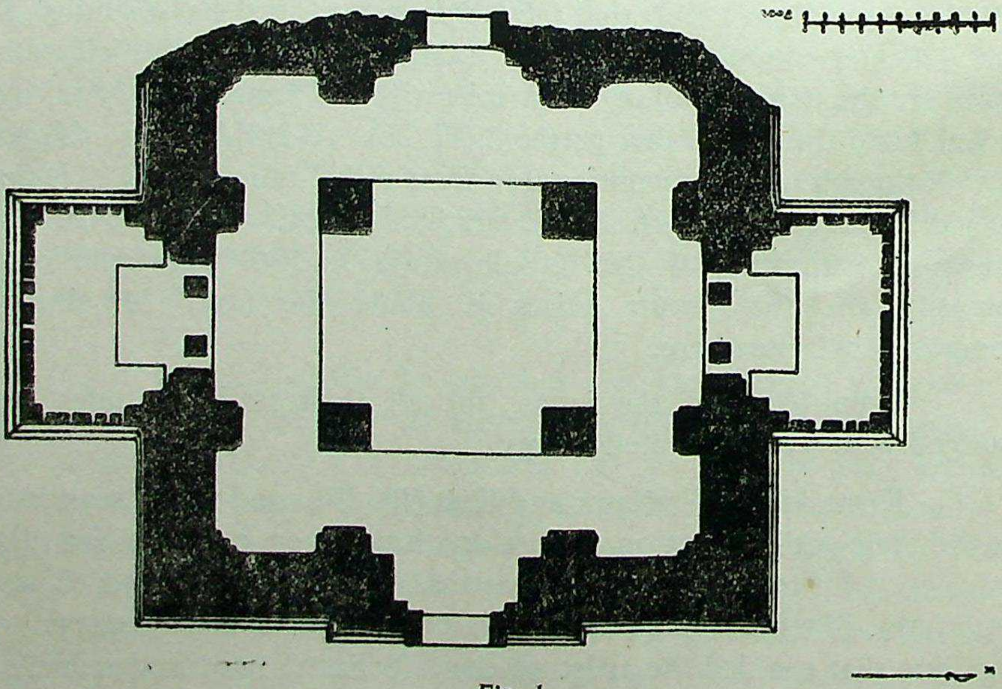

Fig. 1

mukha gorging a bell on a chain between two garlands, and a rampant lion. The lion clasps with the fore paws the garlands suspended from the mouths of the *kīrtimukhas* on his two sides. A similar *kīrtimukha* is repeated on every facet of the upper part of the octagonal section. In between these upper and lower segments are two bands separated by a recess and bearing exquisite floral designs. The pillar has a bracket capital on an octagonal base, which is divided into two parts. On every side of this base is a lion head in high relief (Pl. 27).

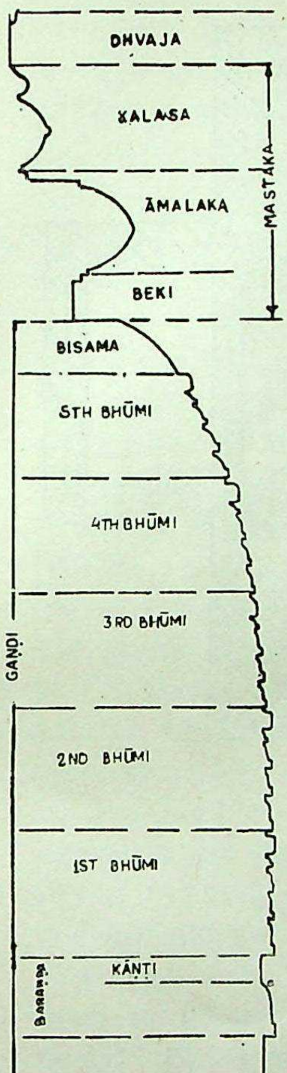

Fig. 3

2. THE KAPILEŚVARA TEMPLE AT CHARDA

According to a local legend, the Kapileśvara Śiva temple was built by king Anaṅga Bhīmadeva in grateful recognition of his recovery from an incurable disease resulting from the sin of killing a Brahmin general.[5] Careless restoration work in recent years has done much damage to this temple, probably more than what it had suffered during a long span of neglect. However, not everything is obscured or destroyed, and the basic form of the temple is still decipherable.

Oriented to the east the Kapileśvara consists of a *deula* and a *mukhaśālā* with a connecting vestibule in between (Fig. 2 and Pl. 2). The *deula* is of the *pañcaratha* plan and has, in elevation, three principal parts, viz. *bāḍa*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka* (Fig. 3 and Pl. 8). The *bāḍa* is divided along its vertical axis into the *pābhāga*, the *jāṅgha* and the *baraṇḍa*. A pseude-plinth built around and revetted to the lower part of the *bāḍa* partially covers the *pābhāga*. But from its exposed parts and a comparison with the base-mouldings of the *mukhaśālā*, the *pābhāga* of

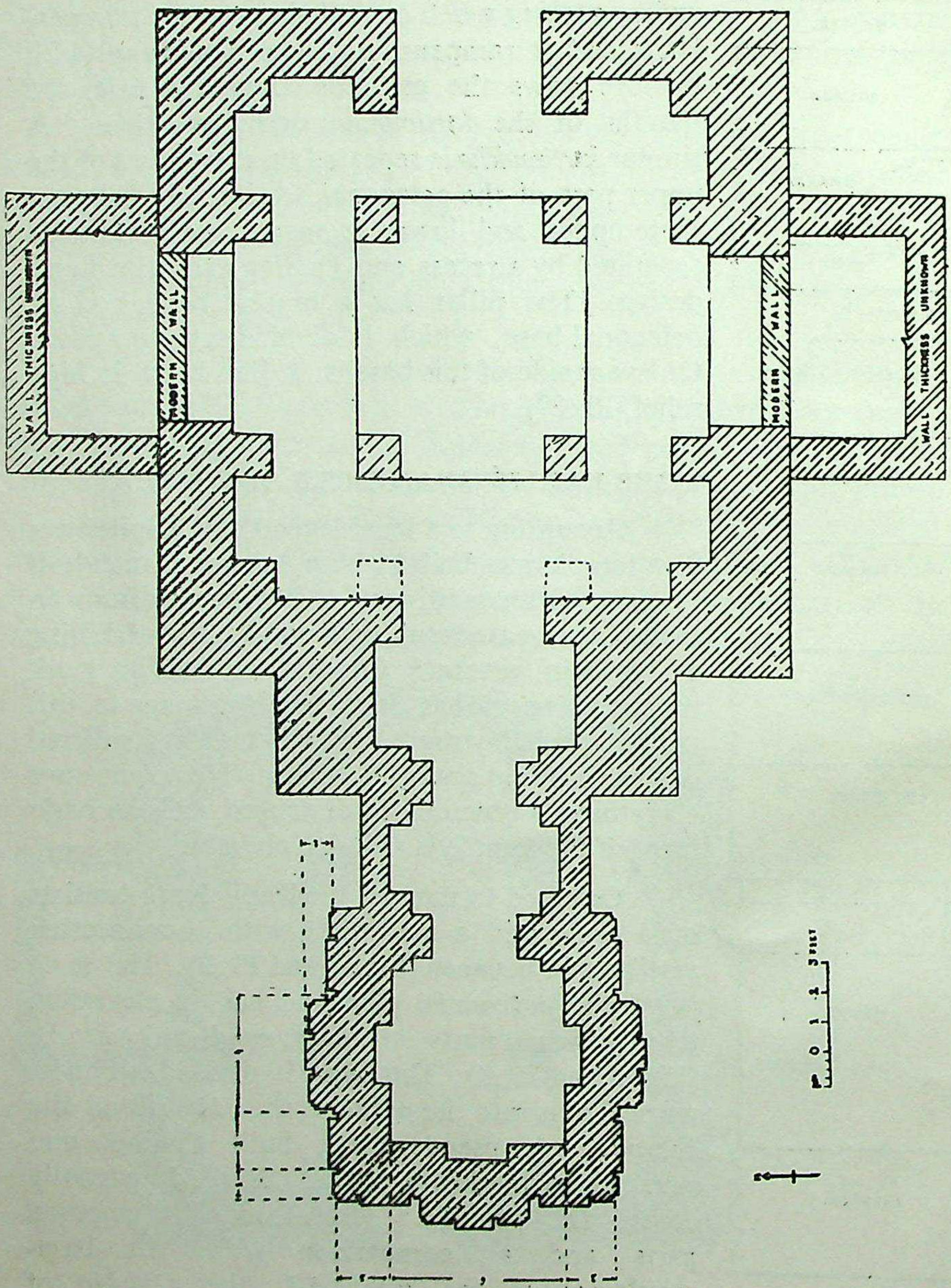
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Fig. 2

the *deula* appears to have comprised four moulding courses which from below would show a *khurā*, a *kumbha*, a heavy roll-moulding with a fillet in the centre and *basanta*. The *jāṅgha* has five segments corresponding to the five *rathas* of the plan. A *dhāra* recess is produced between each two *ratha* segments to demarcate them from one another. Among the five *rathas*, the two *kanikas* at the flanks are shaped like two pilasters. Each pilaster has a moulded base and a *khākharā* crown. A plaster coating has obliterated the decoration on its shaft. However, what now resembles a festoon-like design on the upper part of the shaft cannot be anything but the two beaded strings with a bell-on-chain in between suspended from the mouth of a *kīrtimukha* head. It is a common motif usually occurring in the same position of a pilaster of an Orissan temple (Pl. 29). The segment of the *anuratha* is occupied by a niche fashioned in the likeness of a miniature shrine (cf. Pl. 22). The festoon-like design recurs on the respective upper parts of the two jambs of the niche. The superstructure of the niche, composed of a number of gradually diminishing tiers, is surmounted by double *khākharās*. The niche on the *rāhā* is comparatively less complex. Its two side posts, resembling those on the *anuratha*, support a plain superstructure which is culminated by a sloping roof. The simplicity in the composition of this niche appears to have been due to the concealing of most of its decorative details by the application of a thick lime plaster. The *parivāra devatās*, once occupying the three niches on the three *rāhās* on the south, west and north respectively, have all been replaced by images of much later origin. This fact explains why these images are disproportionately smaller than the space provided by each niche for accommodating such a deity. The three images to be seen today in the southern, western and northern niches are respectively of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and a pacific form of Devī. The section of the *baraṇḍa* above these niches is mutilated almost beyond recognition. It is now found to have overstepped its intended limit overlapping with the first two *bhūmi*-stages of the *gaṇḍi*. It, however, appears that the *baraṇḍa* originally consisted of a recessed

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kāṇṭi between two moulded courses. Of these two moulded courses, only the lower one, coinciding with the *khākharā* crowns of the *kanika* pilasters, the uppermost *khākharā* surmounting the niche on each *anuratha* and the sloping roof of the niche on the *rāhā*, is identifiable. The *gaṇḍi* rising above the baraṇḍa is a curvilinear spire. It has five *pagas* corresponding with the five *rathas* of the *bāḍa*. The separation between the *pagas* is maintained by extending the *dhāra* recesses to the *gaṇḍi* as shallow vertical depressions. The *kanika-paga* is divided into five *bhūmi*-stages. Every *bhūmi*-stage is composed of three and a half *bhūmi-baraṇḍkas* and is crowned by a right angled *bhūmi-āmalaka*. Of the first two *bhūmi*-stages not much is left. Only the *bhūmi-āmalaka* of the first *bhūmi*-stage remains unaffected. The *anuratha-paga* exhibits on its lower part, corresponding roughly with the first two *bhūmis* of the *kanika*, crudely modelled erotic figures in stucco. Apparently, these stucco sculptures found their way to their present position at a time when the temple was under renovation. It seems that this section of the *anuratha*, like the rest of it, was textured by delicate interlacings of minute *caitya*-windows. The *rāhā* in the lower part is occupied by the usual *bho* consisting of a plastered *caitya*-window and an undefinable finial. The plaster over the finial obviously conceals a *kīrtimukha* gorging string courses—a motif invariably crowning the *caitya*-window on the *rāhā* in all temples of Orissa. A platform, projecting above the finial, supports a squat lion of uncertain antiquity. On the remainder of the *rāhā* is repeated the motif that covers the *anuratha*. The summit of the *rāhā* on the southern side carries an image of Hanumāna of recent origin. The *pagas* of the *gaṇḍi* terminate below the *bisama* which caps the spire. Partaking of the *paga* projections the *bisama* is also *pañcaratha* on plan. Above the *bisama* rises the *mastaka* section. It consists of a circular *beki*, a large gadrooned *āmalaka*, an umbrella-shaped *khapuri* with moulded lotus-petal decoration, a small *āmalaka* and a bell-metal *kalaśa* and *dhvaja*. But all the members above the large *āmalaka* are later additions.

In the interior, the *deula* shows, like its exterior, a cruciform sanctum. This plan is obtained by producing an indented centre in the wall on the northern, western and southern sides. On the east, the central section of the wall opens up in the same fashion only to make provision for the door-way. No further details regarding the interior construction can be given, as a canopy of cloth hanging over the deity is stretched from end to end of the chamber.

The door of the sanctum communicating with the vestibule is made of telescoped jambs and lintels. The two river goddesses are absent from their usual places of occurrence on the door-frame. But the two *dvārapālas* appear at the appointed places on the two outer jambs. On the lintel, supported by the outer jambs, are depicted scenes connected with the Saivite mythology. Separated from it by a scroll-pattern occurs the the representation of Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu with Brahmā issuing from his navel. The omission of the *graha* panel from the scheme of the facade is a departure from the prevailing convention.

The vestibule connecting the sanctum with the *mukhaśālā* has two idented sides. It opens into the *mukhaśālā* through two pilasters to whose lower sections are affixed two door-keepers.

The *mukhaśālā* is a peristyle hall in which a row of twelve engaged pillars is ranged along the sides, and a group of four pillars is placed in the middle. The entry to the hall is obtained through the opening between two engaged pillars in the eastern wall. The passage leading to the hall has on its northern wall an image of Kārttikeya and on the southern wall that of Gaṇeśa. The hall had two projected wings, one on the south and the other on the north. Both the wings have disappeared long since. But the evidence of their existence remains in the traces of the plinth of the southern wing. The cavity in the wall created by the disappearance of the wing on either side of the hall had to be sealed by raising a brick-built screen (Fig. 2 and Pl. 2). Even in ruins, these projected wings recall the projected balconied windows of the *mukhaśālā* of the Kosaleśvara. Indeed, from their assigned position the two outstretched wings of the hall of the Kapileśvara cannot serve any purpose other than that of two projected balconies. Of the four pillars supporting the roof of the southern balcony two are still present at the two points whereform the projection of the balcony commenced (Pl. 2). The gap that was made in the wall on either side of the hall for an outward extension of the balconied window produces an alcove after being closed by a thin brick-screen. On the two sides of this alcove are two niches each accommodating a *nāyikā*. A lavish cement-wash virtually robs the *nāyikā* of her elegant beauty. Like the damsels in the balconied windows of the Kosaleśvara, she was also given a canopy of demi-medallion shape. But whatever relief-work this canopy would have shown is now buried under a thick layer of cement-plaster. Like the Kosaleśvara again, a pair of engaged pillars flank the recessed remnant of the balconied window on either side of the hall. Set against the base of each of these pillars is a divine image (Pl. 42, 43). Though successive layers of a cement-wash obscure much of their iconographic details, the four such images are not difficult to be identified. Thus, the divinities they represent are Ardhanārīśvara, Devī, Hari-Hara and Naṭarāja. In the centre of the hall there is a square platform and on its four corners stand four pillars. The stone-paving of this platform and the remainder of the floor of the *mukhaśālā* and that of the vestibule and of the sanctum are concealed under a mosaic surface. A mosaic treatment is also given to the pedestals of the corner pillars of the platform. Further defacement of these pillars contains in tinting their decorative details with various colours. Fortunately a photograph taken before such wanton face-lift preserves one such pillar in all its details (Pl. 26). The pillar has three principal sections, viz. base, shaft and capital. The base consists of a pot with over-flowing foliage on a square pedestal. The shaft is octagonal. It is divided into two halves by a pair of diapered bands. In the lower half, the facets are occupied alternately by a *kīrtimukha* and a crouching leonine figure. Two sets of pearl strings with a bell-on-chain suspended in between hang from the mouth of the *kīrtimukha*. The leonine figure holds with its fore paws, the ends of the pearl-strings, coming from its either side, and gathers them to its mouth. On the facets of the upper part of the shaft appears a row of *kīrtimukha* heads. A swinging garland of pearl-beads moves from mouth to mouth of these *kīrtimukhas* every one of which also gorges a bell suspended from a chain. The capital is made of double-cushion of octagonal shape and a bracket whose two ends curve upward in the likeness of *cyma recta*. On either of its longer sides, the bracket bears three sculptured panels (Pl. 30). The central panel shows within a square frame a dwarf figure with attendants in bas-relief. The panels at its two sides, being triangular, are occupied by flying *vidyādharas*. A frame of intersecting architraves is placed on the pillar-capitals. The ends of the architraves rest on the capitals of the engaged pillars at the sides of the hall. Stone slabs, placed side by side on these architraves, finally cover the hall. Iron bars laid across the architraves provide additional support to these ceiling-slabs. The section of the ceiling over the platform is distinguished by a carved lotus on it (Pl. 18).

Ill-conceived restoration has almost changed the appearance of the exterior of the *mukhaśālā* (Pl. 2). But here and there the peeled off portions of the plaster show that its *pābhāga* had four mouldings, viz. *khurā*, *kumbha*, a heavy roll-moulding with a fillet in the centre and *basanta* (Pl. 21). The miniature shrines on the walls flanking the door-way (Pl. 22) and the lost balconies (Pl. 2) have also not completely disappeared under a liberally applied plaster coating. These miniature shrines seem to resemble in every respect the niches on the *anurathas* of the *deula*. Above these niches is a projected cornice which may not be a later innovation. But, the battlemented parapet enclosing the roof is an obvious interpolation. Equally, the hump-shape of the roof, obtained by modelling its contour with lime and surki mortar, cannot be placed before the late mediaeval period.

It is needless to emphasise that even with so much changes due to damages caused by man and Nature, the *mukhaśālā* of the Kapileśvara retains ample evidence of its identity with the *mukhaśālā* of the Kosaleśvara. This identity is so fundamental that their missing parts can be reconstructed with some amount of confidence by making a comparative analysis of them. For instance, the two images of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, now standing loose near the doorway of the Kosaleśvara, seem to have been affixed to the two walls of the passage leading to the hall on the analogy of a similar placing of these two deities in the Kapileśvara. In the Kosaleśvara, only two engaged pillars of the hall show two divine figures affixed to their lower sections. They are of Hari-Hara and Ardhanārīśvara. The corresponding sections of the engaged pillars opposite them are empty. But, in a similar scheme in the Kapileśvara, the lower parts of such pillars are occupied by four deities representing respectively Ardhanārīśvara, Devī, Hari-Hara and Naṭarāja. The missing images from the Kosaleśvara should, therefore, have been Devī and Naṭarāja. As a matter of fact, an image of Naṭarāja, broken into two pieces, is now lying at a corner of the hall of the Kosaleśvara. In the Kapileśvara, the projected balconied windows of the hall are not standing beyond the plinth level. But the portions above it can be restored from the fairly preserved balconies of the Kosaleśvara. The similarity between the forward halls of the Kapileśvara and Kosaleśvara implies a similarity in their *deulas* also. In that event, the *deula* of the Kosaleśvara, now replaced by a modern structure, was characterised by a *pañcaratha* plan, a *tri-aṅga bāḍa* and a *gaṇḍi* divided into five *bhūmis* and bereft of any *aṅgaśikhara*.

3. THE SOMEŚVARA TEMPLE AT RANIPUR-JHARIAL

The Someśvara temple is an unpretentous building standing on the edge of a rocky plateau (Pls. 3, 4, 5). An ashlar construction, it is raised on a low plinth and oriented from west to east. Its *deula* is connected by a vestibule with a pillared *mukhaśālā* (Figs. 4 & 5). In plan the *deula* of the temple is *triratha*. Vertically, it has three sections, viz. *bāḍa*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka*. The *bāḍa* has the usual *pābhāga*, *jāṅgha* and *baraṇḍa* divisions. But the *pābhāga* is indicated by a shallow right angled projection instead of a set of mouldings. The *jāṅgha* is devoid of any decorative embellishment. The niche for housing the *parivāra-devatā* is also absent from the *rāhā* except on the western side. The *baraṇḍa* consists of a recessed *kāṇṭi* bordered by a moulding at the bottom. Curvilinear in profile, the *gaṇḍi* is severely plain. Only in front, the *rāhā* shows at its base a gable in a very low relief.

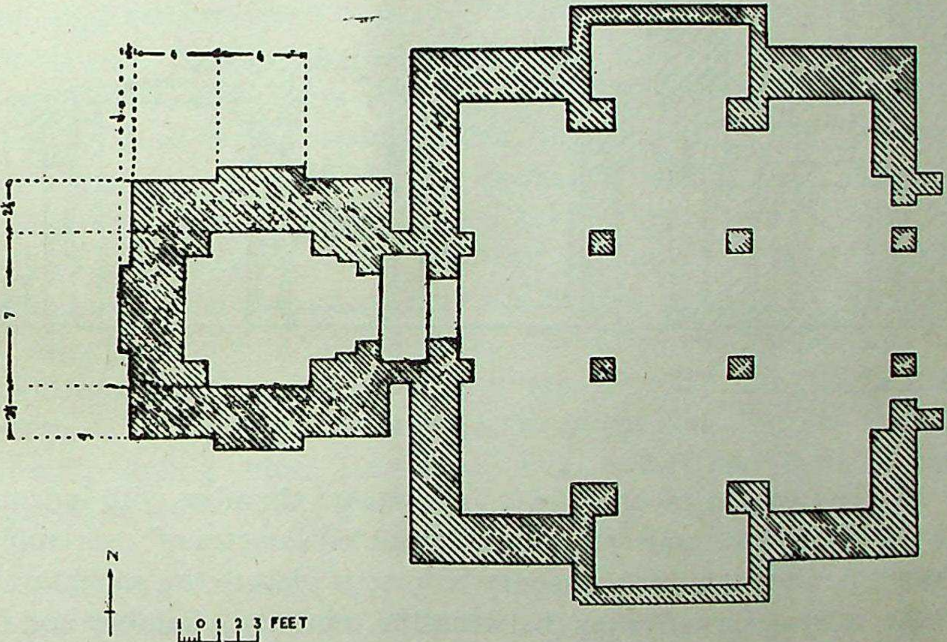

Fig. 4

Apparently, this gable is a simplified version of the elaborate *caitya*-window design seen on the *rāhās* of a large number of Orissan temples. The *pagas* of the *gaṇḍi* of the Someśvara terminate below the *bisama* which, like the *deula*, has a *triratha* plan. The *mastaka* surmounting the *bisama* shows a *beki*, an *āmalaka* and a *khapuri*. Other elements above the *khapuri* are missing.

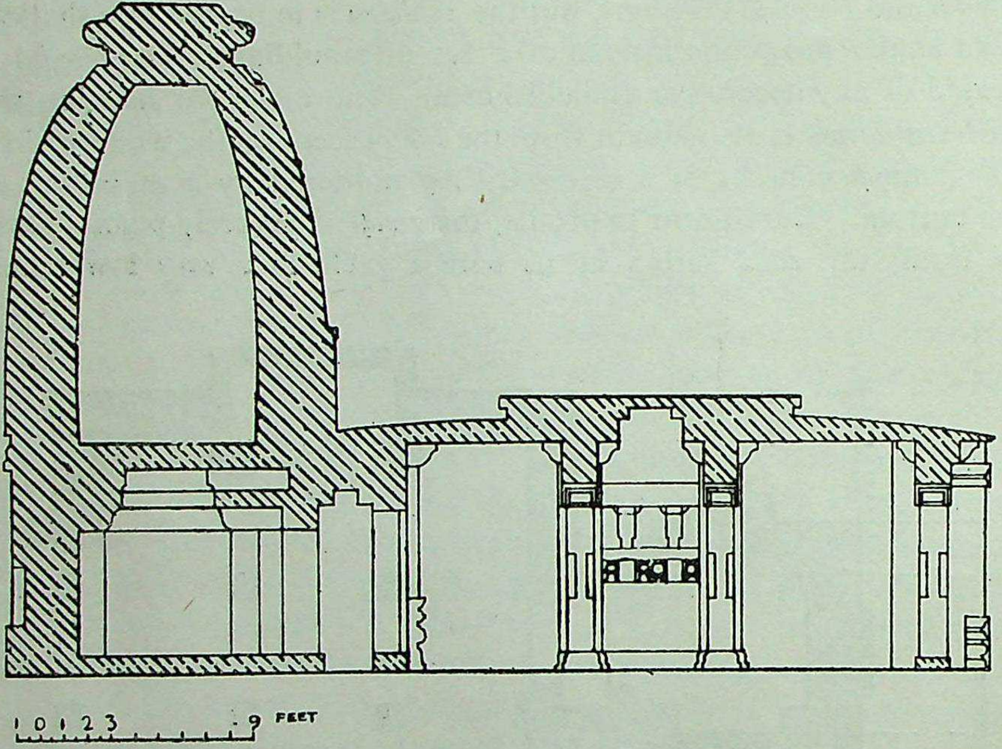

Fig. 5

The *garbha* of the *deula* is a square chamber with indented sides. Above the wall rise three moulded courses of overlapping masonry. Over the third masonry course is placed the *garbhamuda*, i.e. the intermediary ceiling between the sanctum chamber and the capstone of the *gaṇḍi*. A passage with graduated projections at the sides opens on the east of the sanctum. This passage is spanned by corbelling the opposite walls. It is done with the explicit intention of reducing the load on the door-lintel of the sanctum. A stone-slab inserted between the wall-section and the corbelled courses creates above the passage a hollow triangular space which is curtained from outside by the wall of the *rāhā*. The floor of the passage is reached from the vestibule by a single step. Like the sanctum, the vestibule has indented sides. It has a faceted facade out of which the vestibule spreads into a pillared *mukhaśālā*.

The *mukhaśālā* is a square hall with two projected balconies one on the south and the other on the north, a row of pilasters along the sides and a group of four pillars in the centre. Modern brick-works have reduced the balconies into two latticed windows.[6] But the balustrated railing and the dwarf pillars supporting the roof of the northern balcony are clearly distinguishable. The pillars and pilasters of the hall are not of an ornate variety. The pilasters are plain shafts with a base and a bracket capital. The four central pillars have an elongated *khurā* base, a shaft rising in the succession of a square, an octagonal and a square sections, and a bracket capital with voluted ends. The two pillars corresponding to the two side posts of the gateway of the hall resemble the latter excepting the *khurā* base. There was once a narrow gap between the wall and the side post. This gap has now been closed by a brick-construction. Outside, the wall of the *mukhaśālā*, like the wall of the *deula*, is without any decoration. The monotony of this plainness is scarcely relieved by the slightly stepped-out entablature. Over this entablature is a two-tiered roof.[7] A recessed frieze intervenes between the two tiers, the lower one of which is broader than the upper one. Both of them are flat with sloping sides. The brow of the lower tier serves as eaves around the wall.

4. THE NARASIMHANĀTHA TEMPLE NEAR PAIKAMAL

As early as 1874-76 Beglar[8] noticed the Narasiṁhanātha temple which stands at the foot of the Gandhamardan hill near Paikamal in the Sambalpur District. Later on, Bhandarkar[9] visited this temple and suggested its identity with the Sun temple at Konarak which he had ascribed to the 9th century A.D.

With its face to the east, the temple of Narasiṁhanātha has a *deula* and a *mukhaśālā* (Fig. 6 and Pl. 7). A tunnel-like passage joins the *deula* with the *mukhaśālā*. The *deula* is *pañcaratha* in plan, the

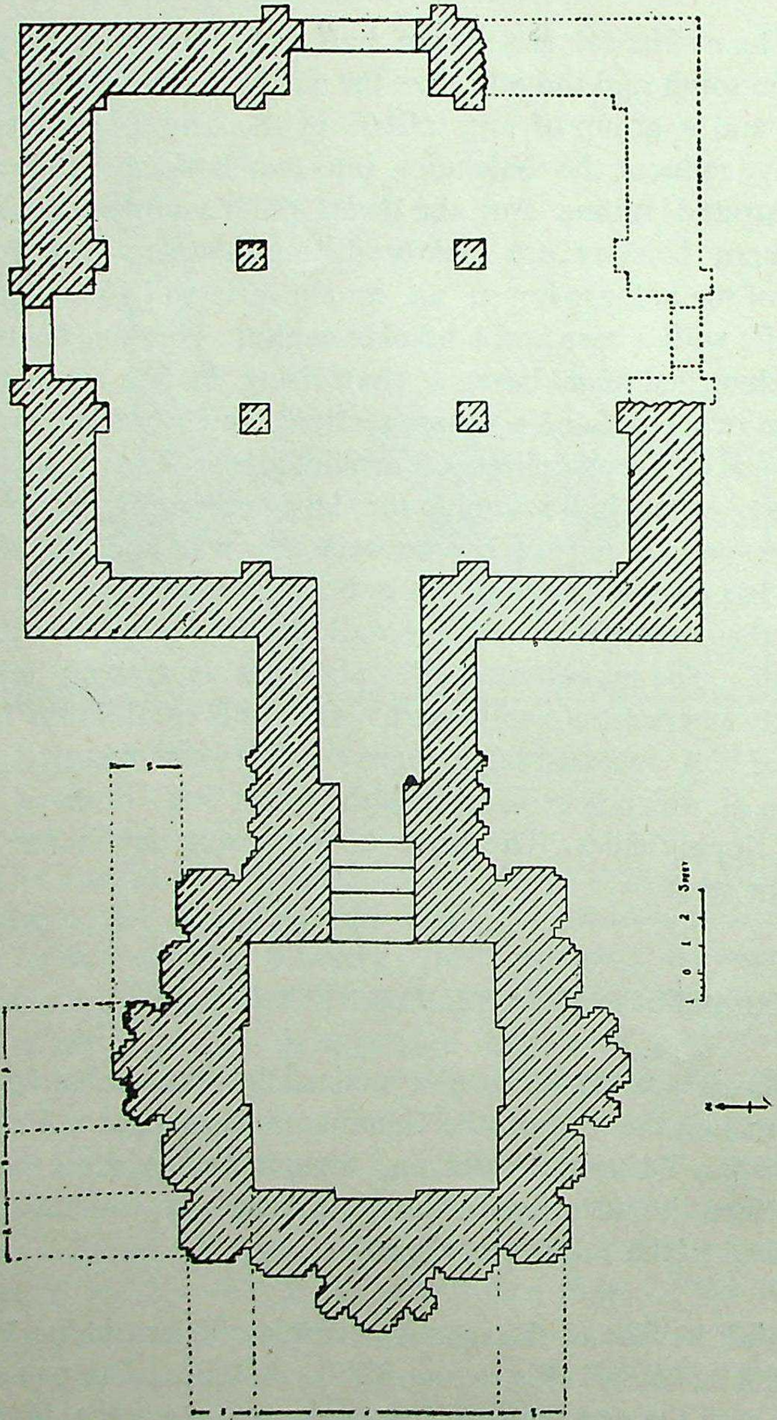

Fig. 6

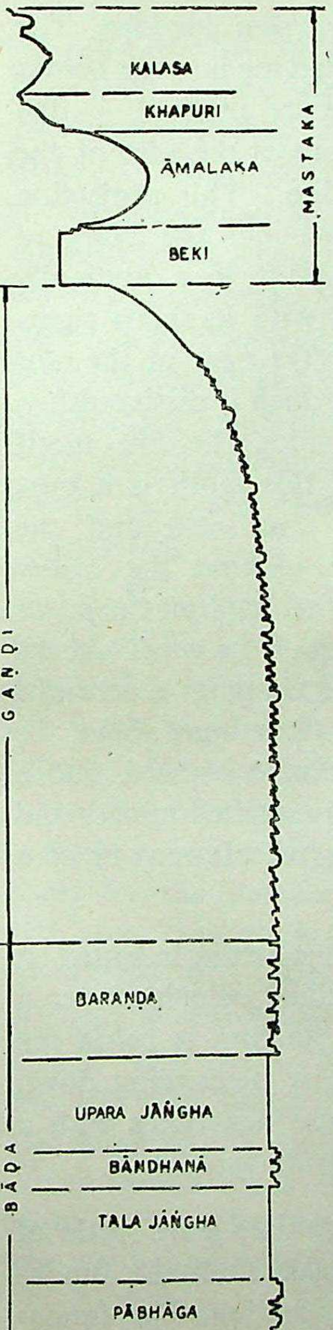

Fig. 7

rathas being multi-faceted projections. The projection of the *rāhā* shows triple heads on a constricted neck. In elevation the *deula* has the three usual sections, viz. *bāḍa*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka* (Fig. 7 and Pl. 12). Each section has been subjected to further divisions. Thus the *bāḍa* exhibits five-fold vertical divisions such as the *pābhāga*, the *tala-jāṅgha*, the *bāndhanā*, the *upara-jāṅgha* and the *baraṇḍa* (Pl. 25). The *pābhāga* consists of five mouldings which from below are *khurā*, *kumbha*, *paṭā*, *kaṇi* and *basanta*. In the *tala-jāṅgha* section, the *kanika* and the *anuratha* are adorned with a *piḍhā muṇḍi* each. The *rāhā* in the same section is transformed into a niched shrine. On the north, west and south, the niches are occupied respectively by Trivikrama, Narasiṁha and Varāha. In the *dhāra* recesses, that intervene between the *ratha* projections, occur *viḍāla* figures. The *bāndhanā* dividing the *jāṅgha* into *tala* and *upara* segments is composed of the three mouldings of *khurā*, *noli* and *paṭā*. The *kanika* and the *anuratha* in the *upara-jāṅgha* segment are relieved by *muṇḍis* of the *piḍhā* variety. The *rāhā* in this segment carries the spire of the niched shrine. Surmounting the *upara-jāṅgha* is a set of seven mouldings composing the *baraṇḍa*. From bottom upward these mouldings are *khurā*, *pheṇi paṭā*, *noli*, *paṭā*, *kaṇi* and *paṭā*. Towering above the *baraṇḍa* is an imposing *gaṇḍi* (Pl. 13). Curvilinear in profile, it has eight *bhūmi* stages. Each *bhūmi* is made of five *bhūmi-baraṇḍkas* and a crowing *bhūmi-āmalaka.* The eighth *bhūmi*,however, differs from the others in having no such *bhūmi-āmalaka.* The *kanika*, on which the *bhūmi*-stages are marked, is disposed in two planes. Of these two planes the one at the edge of the *kanika* expands in a faceted square projection. This projection becomes round in the case of the *bhūmi-āmalaka.* On the body of the *anuratha* rise a succession of four *aṅgaśikharas* in a gradually diminishing sequence. The boldly projected *rāhā* with its sharp right-angled sides acts as a spine of the *gaṇḍi.* The lower part of the *rāhā* on the east is occupied by a large *aṅgaśikhara* which is distinguished by its separate mass and volume. On other sides, the *bho* motif appears at the base of the *rāhā.* At the crest of this motif is a projected platform carrying a *gaja-siṁha* on it. The *rāhā* and the *anurathas* are, like the *kanikas*, serrated but without the *bhūmi* divisions. The horizontal movement of the serried lines on the *pagas* counterbalance, mildly though, the vertical sweep of the *gaṇḍi.* At the summit of the *gaṇḍi* is a *pañcaratha bisama.* It supports a *mastaka* with all the elements of a fully evolved type. Placed one above the other these elements are a *beki*, a huge *āmalaka*, a *khapuri*, and a *kalaśa.* The crowning members, consisting of a metalled pitcher and a *dhvaja* which in the present instance is a *cakra* (wheel), may be of a late date.

The walls of the *deula* encloses a square sanctum indented at the sides. It is provided with an intermidiary ceiling, which creates a non-functional upper storey. The floor of the sanctum is below the ground level and, therefore, has to be reached by descending down a flight of steps. The upper end of the staircase negotiates with a walled passage which connects the sanctum with the *mukhaśālā.*

Additions and alterations from time to time leave little of what can be considered original of the *mukhaśālā.* Only the fundamental of its plan seems to have escaped modification. The fundamental feature of the plan is contained in its peristyler scheme. Frankly, the four pillars in the centre and the row of pilasters along the sides of the hall together with the architraves resting on them serve such a function in the structure that make them incapable of becoming later innovations. To be precise, they constitute the infrastructure of the *mukhaśālā*. Originally a square building, the *mukhaśālā* is now pentagonal on plan on account of a faulty restoration of its south-eastern corner. It has two doorways, one facing the east and the other the north. In the corresponding section of the wall opposite the northern doorway is an alcove nestling the three deities of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balarāma. It is very likely that this alcove was created as a result of blocking a doorway with masonry work. The walls of the *mukhaśālā* are now covered with a thick layer of lime-plaster. Covered with similar plaster, the roof takes the shape of a tortoise-shell.

Any discussion on the *mukhaśālā* of the Narasiṁhanātha would remain incomplete if only a passing reference is made to the four pillars in the interior. These pillars are square in cross-section and identical in design (Pl. 28). The decorative design on the shaft consists of an upwardly moving creeper with a demi-lotus medallion at the head. The capital is of the vase-and-foliage type. In Orissa pilaster bearing similar designs recurs on walls of temples of the *triratha* order. But the introduction of the *pañcaratha* temple synchronises with the disappearance of this type of pilasters from Orissa. The occurrence of such pillars in the *mukhaśālā* of the *pañcaratha deula* of the Narasiṁhanātha was, therefore, least expected. One may suggest that these pillars were re-employed to serve their present function after being queried from the ruins of an earlier temple. The *navagraha* on the lintel of the eastern door is in conformity with this possibility since the temples decorated with pilasters resembling those pillars are not known to have ever exhibited more than eight planets on the door-lintel.

5. THE BAḌA DADHIVĀMANA TEMPLE AT KHARIAR

Distinguished from the lesser Dadhivāmana, a temple of no architectural merit, the Baḍa Dadhivāmana Śiva temple is the biggest shrine at Khariar in the Kalahandi District (Pl. 6). As the principal temple of a former native state, it was repaired from time to time almost to the point of rebuilding. The final face-lift given to it by way of conservation by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Orissa, ended with several new additions and an entirely plastered surface. With so much changes, the *deula* and the pillared *mukhaśālā* of the Baḍa Dadhivāmana render their conjectural restoration difficult, if not impossible. The *deula* could have belonged to the *rekha* order. The door-case of the sanctum showing the Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu on the lintel may not be a later insertion. The scheme of arranging a row of pilasters along the sides and a group of four pillars in the centre of the square hall is too integral with the plan of the *mukhaśālā* to become a subsequent innovation. The formulation of more surmises is prohibited by the present state of the Baḍa Dadhivāmana.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The five temples, so far discussed, are all two-chambered constructions in which one is the shrine and the other a pillared hall. The shrine, wherever preserved, shows a *deula* of the *rekha* order. In every instance, the *deula* is Orissan in form and in the compositional scheme of its vertical segments. The mouldings of the *pābhāga* are not shown in the same way outside Orissa. The pilasters and niches on the *jāṅgha* are typically Orissan. The *baraṇḍa*, as exemplified by the Narasiṁhanātha, is not known to have ever crossed the border of Orissa. The multi-centred curvature of the *gaṇḍi* which has a sharp bend near the summit, the large but flattish *āmalaka* showing convex ribs at the edges and the umbrella shaped *khapuri* are not due to any alien inspiration. Indisputably of Orissan origin is the division of the *kanika* of the *gaṇḍi* into two planes. But the practice of gradually raising the floor from its level in the *mukhaśālā* to that of the sanctum isolates the Kosaleśvara, the Kapileśvara and the Someśvara from other temples of Orissa. Incidentally, in central India it is commonplace to arrange the floors of different adjuncts of a temple in an ascending scale. Link with central India is more pronounced in the plan and execution of the *mukhaśālā*. In having a row of engaged pillars along the sides, four pillars at the four corners of an elevated platform in the centre and a balconied window projecting from either side, the *mukhaśālā* maintains a basic resemblance with a central Indian *maṇḍapa*. The same plan, though simplified by the elimination of the central platform, is repeated by the *mukhaśālā* of the Someśvara. It is this plan which is further simplified in the Narasiṁhanātha and the Baḍa Dadhivāmana by dispensing with the balconied windows. The presence of a *mukhaśālā* of this type in front of an Orissan *rekha deuḷa* is not easy to explain. The fully evolved form of the respective *mukhaśālās* of the Kosaleśvara and the Kapileśvara could not be obtained without passing through some experimental stages of which no evidence is available in western Orissa or in any other part of Orissa. Halls with *kakṣāsanas* and open sides anticipating balconied windows precede shrines at Osia (Jodhpur District, Rajasthan) and Aihole (Bijapur District, Karnataka) in the earlier chronological context. A raised platform with four pillars at its four corners emerges by 635-36 A.D. in the sanctuary of the Muṇḍeśvarī (*sic*. Maṇḍaleśvara Śiva) temple at Ramgarh (Rohtas District, Bihar).[10] When and how these features were assembled in one single structure to serve as a model for forward halls of a wide region have not yet been ascertained. The Mālādevī temple at Gyaraspur (Vidisha District, M.P.), assignable to the late 9th century A.D., is the earliest among the known temples which possess halls with balconied windows.[11] The published plan, however, does not indicate that the *maṇḍapa* of the Mālādevī has any elevated dais in the centre.[12] But, this feature together with the balconied window had become characteristic of central Indian *maṇḍapa* halls by the time the temples of Khajuraho were built. It is logical to trace the ancestry of the west Orissan *mukhaśālās* to these *maṇḍapa* halls of central India. But certain considerations make this preposition not as fool-proof as it appears to be. Thus, in spite of their kinship, the central Indian and west Orissan forward halls are not identical in every respect. For instance, the central Indian *maṇḍapa* has a pyramidal superstructure and the west Orissan *mukhaśālās*, as exhibited by the fairly preserved Someśvara, a two-tiered roof with the upper tier slightly humped. The core of the pyramidal superstructure of the central Indian *maṇḍapa* is a trabeate dome. The ceiling of the *mukhaśālā* in western Orissa is flat. Another area where these two halls differ is the balconied window. In central India, the balconied window is roofed by overhanging eaves and enclosed by a sloping wall. The west Orissan example has a flat roof and a perpendicularly rising balustrated parapet. In respect of the *pābhāga* also, they are in disagreement. In central India, it is a gently sloping section. In western Orissa it rises in a straight line. The light and slender mouldings of the *pābhāga* of the former have little in common with the heavy and bold mouldings of the same section of the latter. As will be presently seen, the claim of chronological precedence by the full fledged central Indian *maṇḍapa* over the earliest west Orissan *mukhaśālā* is not as impressive as to introduce so much difference between them if it be so assumed that the latter descended directly from the former. It has, therefore, to be conceded that the inspiration of the type of *mukhaśālā* developed in west Orissa stems from a direction which still illudes detection.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

On the lintel over the entrance to the sanctum of the Someśvara temple at Ranipur-Jharial is an inscription which records that the temple was constructed by *Ācārya* Gaganaśiva, an immigrant from Uttara Terambagṛha.[13] Taking Gaganaiva as identical with Vyomaśiva of the Ranod inscription, Mahapatra prepares in a chronological order the list of priests who held the office of preceptor of the school to which Vyomaśiva belonged. According to his reckoning, the position of Vyomaśiva *alias* Gaganaśiva in this list suggests that he belonged to the second half of the 9th century A.D.[14] As the conjectural nature of Mahapatra's contention is explicit, it cannot be accepted without any corroborative evidence. Chhabra while editing the Someśvara temple inscription pointed out that its characters belong to the Northern script of about the 10th or 11th century A.D. The palaeographical evidence, therefore, is not in support of Mahapatra's dating of Gaganaśiva.

A legend credits Anaṅga Bhīmadeva (II) with the construction of the Kapileśvara temple at Charda. Anaṅga Bhīmadeva II ascended the throne in 1195 A.D., while the date of accession of his successor Rājarāja III is 1205 A.D.[15] If any credence is given to the legend, then the Kapileśvara should be placed somewhere around 1200 A.D. The Kosaleśvara, being a duplicate of the Kapileśvara, should also belong to the same period. But more often than not legends were found to be poor substitute for authentic history. As such, the credibility of the legend, on the basis of which the Kapileśvara has been dated, has to be testified to by other less doubtful evidence.

In the plastered wall on the southern side of the *mukhaśālā* of the Narasiṁhanātha is embedded an inscribed stone slab. The inscription on this slab records the construction of a temple of Viḍāla Narasiṁha by Vaijaladeva, son of Vatsarājadeva, on Friday, the full moon day of Caitra, the month remaining in the Hasta *nakṣatra* in the year Vikāri.[16] The date has been calculated to correspond to the 14th day of March in 1413 A.D. Though the general opinion is in favour of taking this to be the date of construction of the Narasiṁhanātha, there is a need of caution before accepting this date as final. For Beglar, in his tour report, records that the inscription is 'on a detached slab simply let into the temple outside, and may or may not belong to it'.[17]

As regards the Baḍa Dadhivāmana temple at Khariar, its date is not specified by any inscription, nor are the stories of its occasional reconstruction by the local rulers of any use for ascertaining its date.

From the foregoing no definite picture regarding the chronological position of any of the five temples of western Orissa emerges. To have such a picture an analysis of the observable features of the temples may be of considerable value. As regards the Kapileśvara, those features which can be reckoned as major are the following : a) *pañcaratha* ground plan; b) *tri-aṅga bāḍa* and c) *gaṇḍi* without the *aṅgaśikharas*. Among the better-known temples of Orissa, the Mukteśvara is the earliest example in which the *pañcaratha* plan is firmly established. But an incipient *pañcaratha* plan had already been developed in the twin temples at Gandharadi (Phulbani District). On a closer observation, it is possible, to discover in the delineation of the *ratha* projections of these Gandharadi twins an anticipation of the plan of the Mukteśvara. Even if other points of resemblance between them are ignored, this fact alone is strong enough to bring them very near on the scale of time. Panigrahi places the Mukteśvara during the second half of the 10th century A.D.[18] On stylistic ground, the twins of Gandharadi should not precede the Mukteśvara by more than a hundred years. The Kapileśvara, on account of its *pañcaratha* plan, is not likely to come before the two temples at Gandharadi and, therefore, shows the possibility of being a post-eighth century temple. The upper limit of the date of the Kapileśvara is supplied by the Brahmeśvara temple (Bhubaneswar), which elaborates the *tri-aṅga bāḍa* into a *pañcāṅga* one and adorns the base of the *gaṇḍi* with a row of *aṅgaśikharas*. The Brahmeśvara, according to an inscription, was built by Kolāvatī, the queen mother of the Somavaṁśī king Uddyotakeśarī during the latter's eighteenth regnal year which is believed to correspond to c. 1061 A.D.[19] Adhering to a *tri-aṅga bāḍa* and exhibiting a *gaṇḍi* without any *aṅgaśikhara* the Kapileśvara should antedate the Brahmeśvara. With its lower and upper limits fixed respectively in the 9th and the 11th centuries A.D., the Kapileśvara demands a more precise location in a period covering three centuries. In this context, a closer scrutiny of some of its details, structural and decorative, promises to be fruitful. It has been shown above that the *pābhāgā* of its *mukhaśālā* and presumably of its *deula* are distinguished by four mouldings (Pl. 21). In the Mukteśvara, the *pāgāhbā* of the *kanika* section has four mouldings (Pl. 20). But a tendency to increase this number is emphasised by the five mouldings of the *pābhāga* of the *anuratha* and the *rāhā* (Pl. 19). Among other elaborations absent from the Kapileśvara but noticed in the Mukteśvara is a thin pilaster appearing between the segments corresponding respectively to the *kanika* and *anuratha* of the *jāṅgha* (Pl. 24). The niche on the *rāhā* of the Kapileśvara seems to have been framed between two jambs. In the Mukteśvara, they are supplemented by two more. Both the Mukteśvara and the Kapileśvara have a subsidiary niche with a tiered superstructure on the *anuratha*. In the

Muktesvara, the *khākharā muṇḍi* crowing the superstructure coalesces with the moulding bordering from below the recessed frieze of the *baraṇḍa.* In the Kapileśvara the crowing *khākharā* is not a part of the *baraṇḍa.* The difference between these two temples is extended to certain areas of the *gaṇḍi* as well (Pls. 8 and 10). The *bho* on the *rāhā* of the *gaṇḍi* of the Kapileśvara is composed of an inconspicuous *caitya*-arch with probably a *kīrtimukha* at the crest. Prominently displayed in the Mukteśvara, the *bho* is a minutely worked out design with flanking dwarfish figures. This motif, as evolved in the Mukteśvara, persists in later temples. In the Mukteśvara, therefore, can be detected a few symptoms which rank it as a more developed specimen and consequently, later in date than the Kapileśvara. But these two temples, inspite of differing in respect of a few details, are otherwise similar and as such the time separating them is not likely to have been of a considerable length. This similarity is not confined merely to their sharing in common a *pañcaratha* plan, a *tri-aṅga bāḍa* and a *gaṇḍi* without *aṅgaśikharas*. Attention may in this connection be drawn to the same kind of dwarf figures appearing on the pilaster capitals of the Mukteśvara and the pillar capitals of the Kapileśvara (Pl. 29, 30, 31). In both of them the *anuratha* of the *gaṇḍi* carries up a vertical band of the *caitya*-mesh (Pls. 8 and 10). The tracery of the *caitya*-window motif above the *bho* of the *rāhā* is another feature which adds to their resemblance. The use of the iron bar is made in the same way as a supplementary support for the ceiling in these two temples. These decorative and structural devices together with those already mentioned are not likely to have been assorted in any temple datable considerably before the Mukteśvara. The Kapileśvara, therefore, has the possibility of coming in the first half of the 10th and by no means before the last quarter of the 9th century if the Mukteśvara is placed during the second half of the 10th century A.D.

An anonymous writer, while making a very brief report on the Kosaleśvara temple, comments "the sculptures which decorate it, are the best specimens of the plastic art dating about 7th or 8th century A.D. or earlier."[19]a But the structural details of the Kosaleśvara suggest that this temple was a contemporary of the Kapileśvara. In this connection reference may be made to the iron bars which were introduced to provide additional support for the stone archtraves and ceiling slabs of the *mukhaśālā* of the Kosaleśvara. In the context of Orissan temple architecture, the earliest use of such iron bars may be noticed in the Siṁhanātha at Gopinathpur (Cuttack District). On the consideration of four mouldings in its *pābhāga*, Lakulīśa in *utkuṭikāsana* and the anthropomorphic representation of Mahiṣāsura, the Siṁhanātha has to be assigned to a period not earlier than the 9th century. The Kosaleśvara may even be later in date than that of the Siṁhanātha. The *kumbha* in its four-moulding *pābhāga* is absent from that of the Siṁhanātha. In Orissa, the earliest occurrence of the *kumbha* moulding may be traced in the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. There the adaptation of this moulding from the vase and foliage motif is clearly recognisable. Gradually, in succeeding monuments, this moulding lost its original character and became a distant echo of a *kumbha* pitcher. This process of stylisation started already at Gandharadi. In the Mukteśvara the process was complete. It is this stylised *kumbha* that we find in the Kosaleśvara.

Panigrahi[19]b has drawn our attention to the significance of the planet slabs in determining the chronological sequence of Orissan temples. He has shown that in early temples of that region the number of planets on the door lintel is eight. In the Mukteśvara with the addition of Ketu it has become nine. Thereafter *navagraha* panels are a regular feature of all major and minor temples of Orissa On the lintel of the doorway of the Kosaleśvara all nine planets are present.

The presence of these late characteristics makes it difficult to assign the Kosaleśvara to the 7th or the 8th century. But a dating later than the 9th leaves a number of questions unanswered. At Baidyanath the figures of the great gods and occasionally ofmin or celestials are given haloes encircling their heads. In Orissa haloed images had disappeared sometime before the Mukteśvara was built.

Another indication of comparatively early date for the Kosaleśvara is offered by the image of Kārttika leaning against the right door-jamb of the entrance (Pl. 43). Riding on his peacock, the deity holds in his right hand a spear, and keeps his left on the head of the mount. When one turns to other parts of Orissa for comparisons, it is found that the two-handed Kārttika with a staff/spear occurs in all temples that would be stylistically placed before the Mukteśvara. In the latter case the god still holds a spear in one hand, but a cock appears in his other hand as a new attribute. When in still later temples Kārttika is made four handed, the cock is retained, but the spear does not reappear. As we have seen, the evidence of the architectural and iconographic components of the Kosaleśvara is at times self contradictory. Some indicate a 7th-8th century date for the temple; others put it beyond the 8th, or even beyond the 9th if the Mukteśvara is placed in the 10th. A compromise between these two conflicting sets of evidence may be made only by accepting the possibility either of a continuation of early traits into a later period, or the appearance of other characteristics at a time earlier than has so far been believed. However, the evidence of the Kapileśvara with which the Kosaleśvara bears a striking resemblance makes the latter alternative improbable.

The Someśvara temple at Ranipur-Jharial builds an archaic facade with its *triratha* plan, *tri-aṅga bāḍa* and *gaṇḍi* unencumbered with any *aṅgaśikhara*. *Prima facie* it strengthens Mahapatra's contention that the Someśvara is to be placed during the second half of the 9th century A.D. But anachronistic with its archaism is the *khapurī*, which is noticed for the first time in the Brahmeśvara (c. 1061 A.D.). The occurrence of this late feature in the Someśvara coupled with the evidence of palaeography of the inscription on the door-lintel of its sanctuary pleads in favour of dating this temple not earlier than 1000 A.D.

The Orissan version of the *nāgara* style takes its definite shape in the Narasiṁhanātha temple near Paikamal. Architectonically, its *deula* reproduces, in all essential details, the *deula* of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar (Pls. 12 and 13, 14). Minor differences as may be noticed in the number of mouldings of the *baraṇḍa*, which in the Narasiṁhanātha is seven and in the Liṅgarāja ten, or in the number of *bhūmi*-stages, which in the former is eight and in the latter ten, could have been caused by the not too insignificant difference of height that exists between them and not by any appreciable difference of time separating their respective dates of construction. As a matter of fact the *baraṇḍa* with seven mouldings and the *gaṇḍi* with less than ten *bhūmis* are found in temples post-dating the Liṅgarāja. According to a tradition recorded in the *Mādlāpāñji*, the construction of the Liṅgarāja was commissioned by Yajāti Keśarī, continued by Ananta Keśarī and completed by Lalāṭa Keśarī.[20] Of these three kings Yajāti Keśarī has generally been identified with the Somavaṁśī king Yajāti II. In the epigraphical records of the Somavaṁśīs, Yajāti II is shown as the father of Uddyotakeśarī. The Brahmeśvara, built in the 18th regnal year of Uddyotakeśarī, therefore, comes as a successor of the Liṅgarāja. But the order of succession of the temples of Orissa cannot proceed in this line since it would reverse the process of their evolution. It is unnecessary to repeat what has been said by art historians for establishing the obvious fact that the Liṅgarāja is the outcome of a series of experiments one of the last of which is represented by the Brahmeśvara. It discounts the suggestion crediting Yajāti II with the foundation of the Liṅgarāja. Indeed the testimony of the *Mādlāpāñji*, which provides the basis for this suggestion, is itself doubtful. For instance, of the three generations of kings associated by this chronicle with the construction of the Liṅgarāja two, viz. Ananta Keśarī and Lalāṭa Keśarī, are fictitous. The geneology of the Samavaṁśī rulers, reconstructed from their official charters, does not include these two names.[21] Under the circumstances, a more reliable evidence is necessary to ascertain the date of the Liṅgarāja. Attention may in this connection be drawn to an inscription on the wall of the *jagamohana* of the

Liṅgarāja recording the grant of a village to the temple during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga in A.D. 1114-15.[22] It proves that the Liṅgarāja had been constructed by 1115 A.D. when Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga was the overlord of the Utkala country. Two copper-plate grants of the successors of this Gaṅga king indicate that he erected the far-famed Jagannātha temple at Puri.[23] Trial removal of plaster enveloping this great monument exposes its resemblance with the Liṅgarāja. If this resemblance is not a mere coincidence then the building of the Liṅgarāja should also go to the credit of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. The erection of these two temples, one Vaiṣṇava and the other Śaiva, is in consonance with Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga's dual allegiance to Viṣṇu and Śiva.[24] Admitting the hypothetical nature of the contention that the Gaṅga king founded the two most important temples in Orissa, it may be asserted that in view of its resemblance with the Jagannātha at Puri, the Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar should come shortly before or shortly after 1100 A.D. The Narasiṁhanātha at Paikamal being a prototype of the Liṅgarāja has to be assigned to the same period.

The renovation of the Baḍa Dadhivāmana temple at Khariar leaving no part untouched makes it impossible to establish the date of its construction beyond the realm of doubt. The image of Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu on the door-lintel of its sanctuary connects the temple with a building-tradition prevalent during the 9th-10th century A.D. But this solitary piece of evidence even if genuine, remains of uncertain value in the absence of corroboration by other structural characteristics of this monument.

The handicaps notwithstanding, the effort to arrange the five temples of western Orissa in a chronological order does not end in an entirely fruitless endeavour. It shows more or less convincingly that the Kosaleśvara and the Kapileśvara have to be bracketed between c. 875 and c. 950 A.D. It also gives reasons for dating the Someśvara in c. 1000 A.D. and bringing the Narasiṁhanātha in the neighbourhood of 1100 A.D.

PRINCIPLES OF *DEULA* LAY-OUT[25]

The tentative dating of the west Orissan examples under study provides a scope for analysing the lay-out schemes of their *deulas* against a chronological perspective. From this analysis the Kosaleśvara and the Baḍa Dadhivāmana have to be excluded for reasons explained before. Subjecting the *deulas* of the remaining three to measurement and trying to interpret the result thereof in the line of rules laid down in the canonical books dealing with Orissan architecture it was found that conventions guiding the construction of temples of this region were not static. In the Kapileśvara, the earliest of this group of three temples, the length of the *garbha* and the wall-thickness stand in the ratio of 6 : 2. The Someśvara slightly increases the wall thickness by maintaining a 7 to 2½ ratio of the *garbha* and the wall. In the Narasiṁhanātha this ratio being 7 to 2, the thickness of the wall is lesser than that of the Kapileśvara. The loss of load-bearing capacity of the wall caused by the reduction of its thickness had to be compensated by widening the projection of the *rathas*. Apparently for this reason, the *melāṇa* in the Narasiṁhanātha is emphatic while it is not so pronounced in the Kapileśvara. The Someśvara, in which the *melāṇa* is very shallow, has its walls strengthened by four pillars standing at the four corners of the sanctum chamber. As a result the side walls of the sanctum give an indented look.

Notwithstanding the divergence in respect of the thickness of the wall, the three temples have one common characteristic. Thus in every instance the length of the *garbha* is more than double the thickness of the wall. The general rule laid down in the *śilpa* texts of Orissa prescribes a 2:1 ratio of the *garbha* and the wall. But the specification followed by west Orissan masons seems to have stemmed from a different set of conventions.

As the wall thickness so also the relative porportions of the segments on the outer face of the wall were regulated by certain principles. In the *triratha* Someśvara, the *rāhā* and the *kanika* are in the ratio of 1:1. The same ratio of the *rāhā* and the *kanika* is maintained in most of the *triratha* temples of Orissa. It demonstrates how a convention obtained in respect of the *triratha* temple persisted during a period when the construction of this type of structure was almost a forgotten phenomenon in Orissa. The *pañcaratha* plan, which had already become the order of the day, introduced certain readjustments in the proportionate distribution of space between the *rāhā* and the rest of the segments. In the Kapileśvara, the segments from the *kanika* to the *rāhā* are increased in length in a geometric progression making its *kanika*, *anuratha* and *rāhā* to stand in the ratio of 1 : 2 : 4. In the Narasiṁhanātha this ratio of *kanika*, *anuratha* and *rāhā* is 2 to 2 to 3. The specification followed in the Kapileśvara makes its *rāhā* wider than the extent of the *kanika* and the *anuratha* taken together. In the Narasiṁhanātha the *rāhā* measures less than the combined length of the *kanika* and the *anuratha*. Incidentally, in the Mukteśvara and the Pañca Pāṇḍava (See Appendix), the two near-kins of the Kapileśvara, the length of the *rāhā* is greater than the length of the section from the edge of the *rāhā* to the end of the *kanika*. On the other hand, temples placed stylistically after the Mukteśvara follow the specification, according to which the *rāhā* is shorter than the total length of the *kanika* and the *anuratha*. Obviously, this tendency to decrease the length of the *rāhā* in relation to that of the *kanika* and the *anuratha* is not without a chronological implication. The gradual increase of emphasis on the *melāṇa*, apparent from a comparison between the Kapileśvara and the Narasiṁhanātha in spite of the fact that in both of them the *kanika* and the *melāṇa* are in the ratio of 1 to 1, may also have a similar chronological bearing.

CONCLUSION

In contrast to other parts of India, Orissa preserves the history of its temple architecture without any major gap. The course of this history is traceable through a number of landmarks most of which are to be found at Bhubaneswar. Occasionally the reports of discovery of temples outside Bhubneswar are made, but these reports seldom add to what is already known about Orissan architecture. In this respect the five temples of western Orissa may claim a position of distinction. It is true that the *deula* of none of them is of an unusual character. One of them, i.e. the *deula* of the Kapileśvara, merely approximates the Mukteśvara. It, however, assumes some importance in having an indented *garbha*, a feature unknown so far but destined to become popular in future. Of the remainder, the *deula* of the Narasiṁhanātha is undoubtedly an eminent architectural piece of western Orissa. But its significance in the history of Orissan architecture is usurped by its more imposing archetype, the Liṅgarāja. Therefore, it is not the *deula* for which these temples of western Orissa call for attention. It is the type of *mukhaśālā*, exclusively utilised for these temples, which isolates them from the rest of Orissan temples. Clarity of perception, sense of balance and skill in execution make the two *mukhaśālās*, one of the Kapileśvara and the other of the Kosaleśvara, two outstanding architectural products of this region. Unfortunately the promising start made by them failed to herald a building movement constantly sustained by a creative urge. Overtaken by a Spartan simplicity the movement degenerated into reproducing increasingly abridged versions of the order of *mukhaśālā* evolved at Baidyanath and Charda. In consequence, a very potential architectural form in spite of enjoying a long history of several centuries ended in the anticlimax of the Baḍa Dadhivāmana.

APPENDIX

At Ganeswarpur (Cuttack District) stands a *pañcāyatana* group locally known as the Pañca Pāṇḍava.[26] The central shrine of this group is a dilapidated structure and its *mukhaśālā* is preserved upto its plinth level only. The corner shrines, however, are not all victims of the ravages of time. Those which are fairly preserved resemble the *deula* of the Kapileśvara at Charda (Pls. 9 and 23). Starting from the plan to the observable details of decorative embellishment the Kapileśvara has so much in common with the Pañca Pāṇḍava that it appears to be a replica of the latter. A restoration of the damaged or obscured portions of the Kapileśvara is, therefore, possible if the corresponding portions of the Pañca Pāṇḍava are taken into account. In the Pañca Pāṇḍava, however, the members of the *mastaka* above the *āmalaka* are missing. But the *āmalaka* must have once been surmounted by a *kalaśa* since a large stone pitcher with a wheel standard has been discovered from the ruins of the principal shrine. Apparently, no *khapuṛi* interposed itself between the *āmalaka* and the *kalaśa*. This element is also absent from the *mastaka* of the Mukteśvara, A relief of a shrine on the shaft of the *toraṇa* of the Mukteśvara shows no *khapuri* between the *āmalaka* and the *kalaśa* (Pl. 11). On analogy, the Kapileśvara does not appear to have anything other than a *kalaśa* and a *dhvaja* above the big *āmalaka* of its *mastaka*.

GLOSSARY[27]

āmalaka	: ribbed structure, of the shape of an extremely flattened spheroid, set above the *beki* of a temple.
aṅga	: segment along the vertical axis; *tri-aṅga*, three vertical segments; *pañcāṅga*, five vertical segments.
aṅga-śikhara	: representation of miniature shrine on the body of the spire.
anuratha	: the projected segment next to the *kanika* in a temple with more than three *rathas*.
bāḍa	: wall.
baḍa-deula	: the shrine in a temple with adjuncts.
bāndhanā	: set of mouldings between two *jāṅghas* of a temple.
baraṇḍa	: crowning set of mouldings in the *bāḍa* of a temple.
basanta	: uppermost mouldings of the *pābhāga*.
beki	: neck, cylindrical section immediately above the *gaṇḍi* and just below the *āmalaka*.
bhadra-deula	: an order of structure characterised by a roof of receding steps; also known as *piḍhā-deula*.
bhūmi	: horizontal stages into which the *gaṇḍi* of a temple is divided.

bhūmi-āmalaka	: sectional *āmalaka*, used to demarcate one *bhūmi* from another in the *kanika* of the *gaṇḍi*.
bhūmi-baraṇḍika	: all mouldings in a *bhūmi* of the *kanika* except the *bhūmi-āmalaka*.
bho	: a decorative motif with a highly stylised *caitya*-window.
bisama	: capstone on the *gaṇḍi*.
caitya-window motif	: ornamental design resembling the window of a Buddhist *caitya*-hall (sanctuary).
deula	: sanctuary as distinguished from the porch or forward hall.
dhāra	: edge carved on the *paga*.
dhvaja	: standard of the deity enshrined in a temple.
dvārapāla	: door-keeper.
gaja-siṁha	: lion rampant on elephant.
gaṇḍi	: spire immediately above the *bāḍa* of a temple.
garbha, *garbha-gṛha*	: sanctum sanctorum.
garbha-muda	: ceiling on the sanctum chamber.
graha	: planet; *nava graha*, nine planets, viz. Ravi (Sun), Soma (Moon), Maṅgala (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), Śani (Saturn), Rāhu (ascending node) and Ketu (descending node).
jagamohnaa	: same as *mukhaśālā*.

jāṅgha	: vertical portion of the wall between *pābhāga* and *baraṇḍa*; *tala-jāṅgha*, the section of *jāṅgha* between *pābhāga* and *bāndhanā* mouldings; *upara-jāṅgha*, the section of the wall between *bāndhanā* mouldings and *baraṇḍa*.
kakṣasana	: seat.
kalaśa	: pitcher-shaped member placed on the top of a temple.
kaṇi	: moulding of the shape of a V placed sideways.
kanika	: outermost segment of a temple.
kāṇṭi	: recess between mouldings.
khākharā	: rectangular parallelopiped structure with vertical sides replaced by an open S-form.
khākharā-muṇḍi	: the miniature of a *khākharā* temple used as an ornamental motif.
khapuri	: structure resembling a flattened bell on the *āmalaka*.
khurā	: moulding resembling *cyma recta*.
kīrtimukha	: decorative motif showing the grinning face of a lion.
kumbha	: moulding with the profile of a vase.
mastaka	: crowning elements above the *gaṇḍi*.
melāṇa	: projection.
mukhaśālā	: forward hall or porch of a temple.

muṇḍi : miniature shrine, carved on the wall as a decorative motif.

nāgara : order of temple with cruciform ground-plan and curvilinear spire.

pābhāga : set of mouldings at the base of a temple.

paga : segments produced upon the face of a temple by projecting part of it to a more forward plane.

pañcāṅga : s.v. *aṅga*.

pañcaratha : s.v. *ratha*.

pañcāyatana : a group of five shrines.

parivāra-devatā : members belonging to the family of the deity enshrined in a temple.

pheṇi : moulding resembling the hood of a snake.

piḍhā-deula : s.v. *bhadra-deula*.

rāhā : central projection.

ratha : same as *paga*; *triratha*, temple with the wall divided into three segments; *pañcaratha*, temple with the wall divided into five segments.

rekha-deula : order of temple characterised by a curvilinear spire which presents the appearance of a continuous line (*rekha*).

tala-jāṅgha : s.v. *jāṅgha*.

tri-aṅga : s.v. *aṅga*.

upara-jāṅgha : s.v. *jāṅgha*.

viḍāla : figure of a lion standing with head turned backwards.

vidyādhara : semi-divine being.

NOTES

1. In the *śilpa* texts of Orissa, the other name of the *bhadra deula* is *mukhaśālā*, apparently for its very common function as the forward hall of a temple.

2. The expression stands for the principal temple which is of the *rekha* order. Hereafter the term *deula* is also used to mean the *rekha* temple.

3. J.D. Belgar in his report on tours in western Orissa (*ASIR*, Vol. XIII) did not cover the Kosaleśvara temple at Baidyanath. The earliest reference to this temple occurs in H. Cousens, *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 65. Casual notices of this temple have been made by D. Mitra, 'Archaeological Treasures in Orissa', *Orissa Past and Present*, ed. P. Parija and S.C. Mukherji, p. 49, and P. Acharya, *Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives*, p. 324. It is also recorded in *Orissa Review*, *Orissa Monuments Special*, 1949(?), p. 71 and *Orissa District Gzetteers*: *Balangir*, p. 476. Charles Fabri, (*History of the Art of Orissa*, p. 42f.) and Vidya Dehejea (*Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, p. 136ff.) briefly surveyed this temple. For a detailed account of the Kosaleśvara see D.R. Das, 'Kosaleśvara Temple at Baidyanath (Balangir District, Orissa)', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 207ff. Some of the observations made in this paper have been modified in the present work.

4. In his posthumous work on the *History of the Art of Orissa* p. 42, C.L. Fabri observes that the Kosaleśvara was originally a Buddhist monument. He contends further that the two balconied windows were introduced when it was converted into a Hindu shrine. In this connection, he draws our attention to the lack of bonding between the ashlar balcony and the brick wall.

Fabri, however, ignores the fact that the lack of bonding in this case is due to the use of two different materials of unequal dimentions. The even shape the bricks at the alleged points of insertion of both the balconies is also overlooked by Fabri. Finally, the postulation that the Kosaleśvara was originally a Buddhist shrine is a misleading guess work.

5. *Orissa District Gazetteers : Balangir*, Cuttack, 1968, p. 487 f.

6. T. Donaldson ('Development of the *Gavākṣa* Window on Orissan Temples', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. VII, p. 4) takes the modern brick-works of the two balconies as original parts of the Someśvara and comments "Of particular interest is the arrangement of three windows in a row, a rare feature in Orissan architecture though popular elsewhere in India such as on the Lad Khan temple at Aihole. The lattice-work of central window is in the shape of crisscrossing ribs forming a diamond pattern in contrast to the checkerboard pattern on earlier temples". He did not notice that the 'crisscrossing ribs forming a diamond pattern' is present in the northern balcony but absent from the southern balcony (Pls. 4, 5). He also did not take into account the fact that the low balustrated parapet of stone in the northern balcony has disappeared from the southern one pointing directly to the damage suffered by the latter during a period of its existence and the consequent necessity of its complete renovation sometime thereafter. Evidence of similar renovation is also noticeable in the *gaṇḍi* of this temple. Wherever such renovation is made, mortar is used for the cementing purpose. Rest of the structure is built of dry masonry. All these points give only superfluous support to the self-evident fact that the Someśvara being a stone structure no section built of bricks should form its original part.

7. This two-tiered rise of the roof remains obliterated since the Department of Archaeology, Government of Orissa, has undertaken its conservation work.

8. J.D. Beglar, 'Report of Tours in the South-Eastern Provinces in 1874-75 and 1875-76', *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports*, ed. A. Cunningham, Vol. XIII, p. 141 f.

9. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'The Temple of Narasimhanatha' *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-05, p. 121 ff. Bhandarkar's claim that he seems to have been the first antiquarian to visit this temple is not correct in view of Beglar's report published long before.

10. M. H. Kuraishi, 'List of Ancient Monuments protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa,' *Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, Vol. LI, 1931, p. 145 f.

11. Krishna Deva, 'Central India : Examples of Early Medieval Art in Central India', *Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. A. Ghosh, Vol. I, Delhi, 1974, p. 171 ff.

12. M. W. Meister, 'Jaina Temples in Central India,' *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky, Ahmedabad, 1975, fig. 3 (facing p. 236).

13. B. Ch. Chhabra, 'Ranipur-Jharial Inscriptions', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, p. 240 f.

14. K.N. Mahapatra, 'Gaganasivacharya and the Date of the Monuments at Ranipur-Jharial', *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. II, p. 70.

15. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. V : *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1957, p. 207.

16. Binayak Misra, 'Narasimhanatha Stone Inscription of Vaijaladeva', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, p. 485 ff.

17. J. D. Beglar, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

18. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Bombay, 1961, p. 159.

19. P. Acharya, 'The Brahmesvara Temple Inscription of the Eighteenth Regnal Year of King Uddyotakesari', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Vol. XIII, 1974, p. 63 ff.

19a. *Orissa Review, Orissa Monuments Special*, p. /1. Fabri (*op. cit.*, p. 42f.) thinks that this temple belonged to the 6th century A.D. Contradicting Fabri, Vidya Dehejea (*op. cit.*, pp. 138 and 165) asigns it to an advanced date within the 'Phase of Transition' which, according to her, extended from 700 to 850 A.D. K.S. Behera ('Brahmanical Temples of Orissa', *Orissa Review, Monuments Special*, 1976, p. 59) places it during the Somavaṃśī period.

19b. *Op. Cit.*, p. 132.

20. K. C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

21. D.C. Sircar, 'A Note on the Later Somavamsis', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

22. D. Mitra, *Bhubaneswar*, Delhi, 1966, p. 52.

23. M. M. Chakravarti, 'The Date of the Jagannatha Temple in Puri, Orissa,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, p. 328ff.

24. D.C. Sircar, *Religious Life in Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1971, p. 68.

25. A sampling of representative temples of Orissa support the observations made in this section.

26. D. Mitra, 'Panca-Pandava Temple of Ganeswarpur', *J.N. Banerjea Volume*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 292ff.

27. Primarily based on N.K. Bose's *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta, 1932. *The Śilpa Prākaśa* (ed. Alice Boner and Sadashiva Rath Sarma, Leiden, 1966) and the manuscripts utilised for the *New Light on the Sun Temple of Konarak* by Alice Boner, Sadashiva Rath Sarma and R. P. Das (Varanasi, 1972), have not been consulted for their doubltful authenticity.

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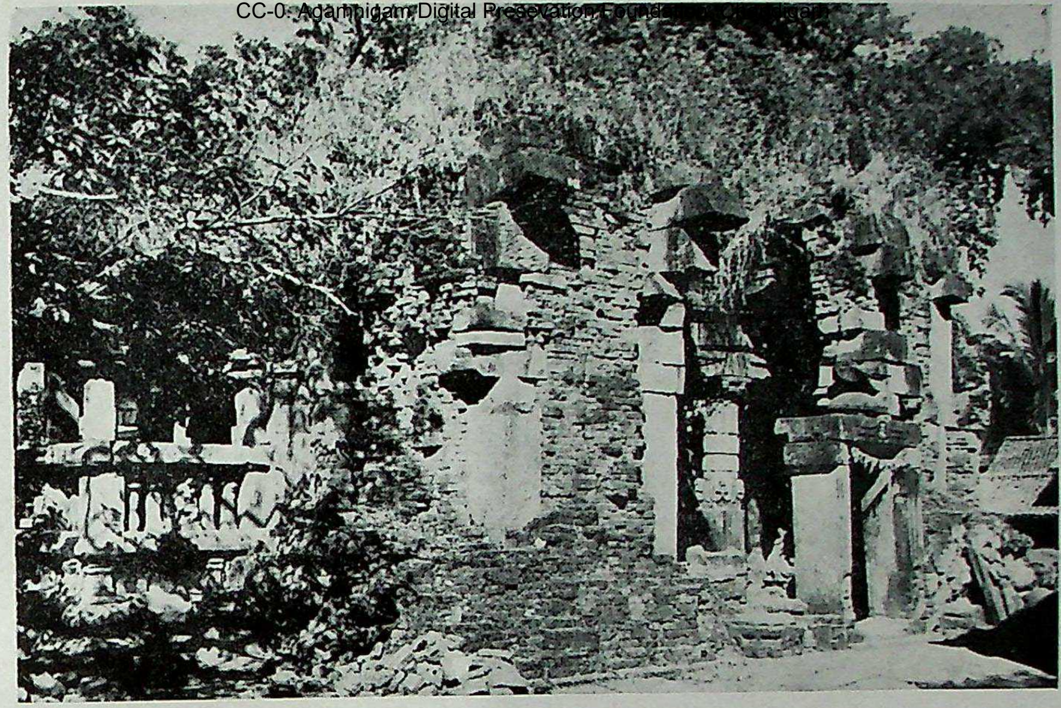

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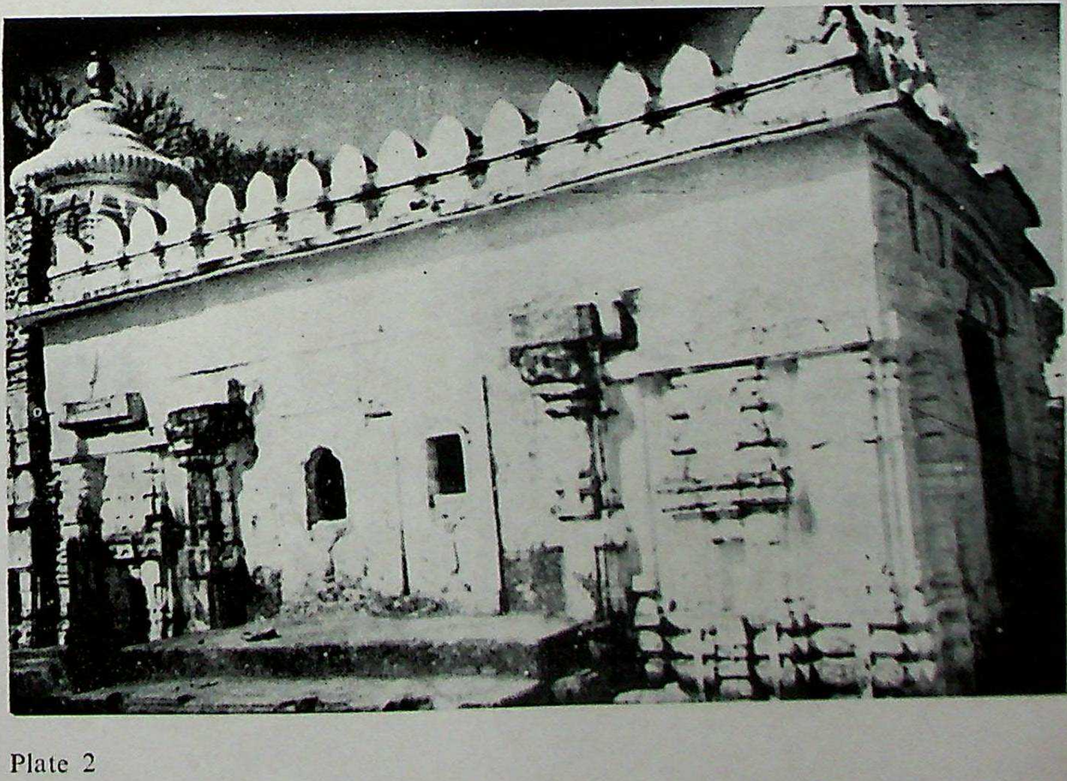

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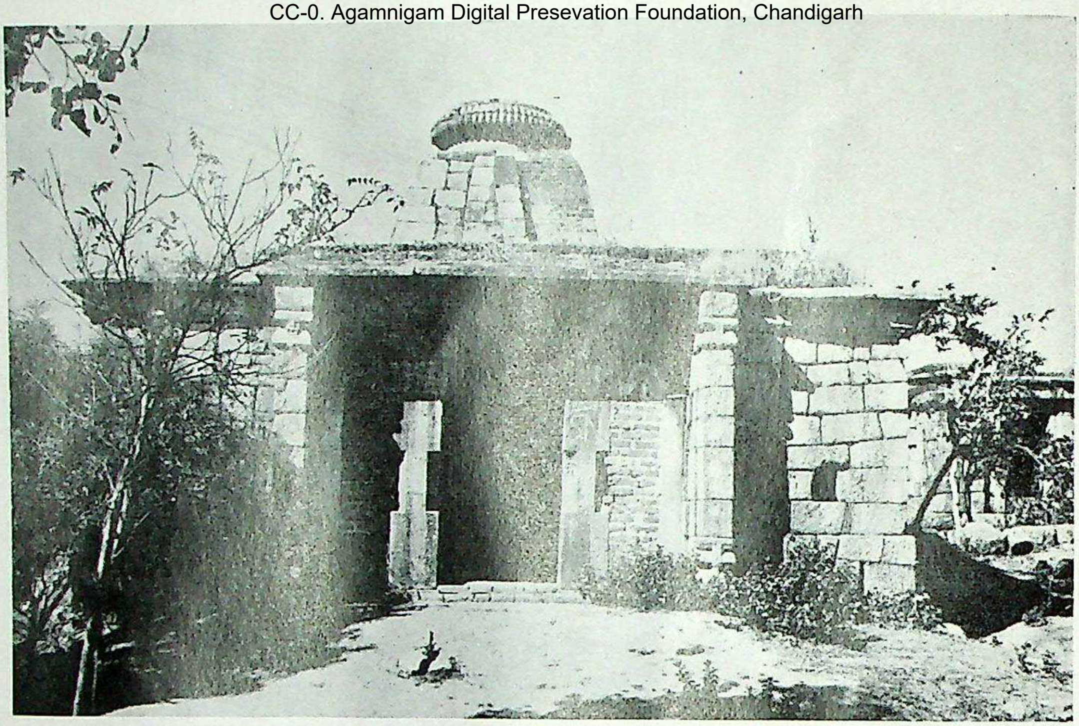

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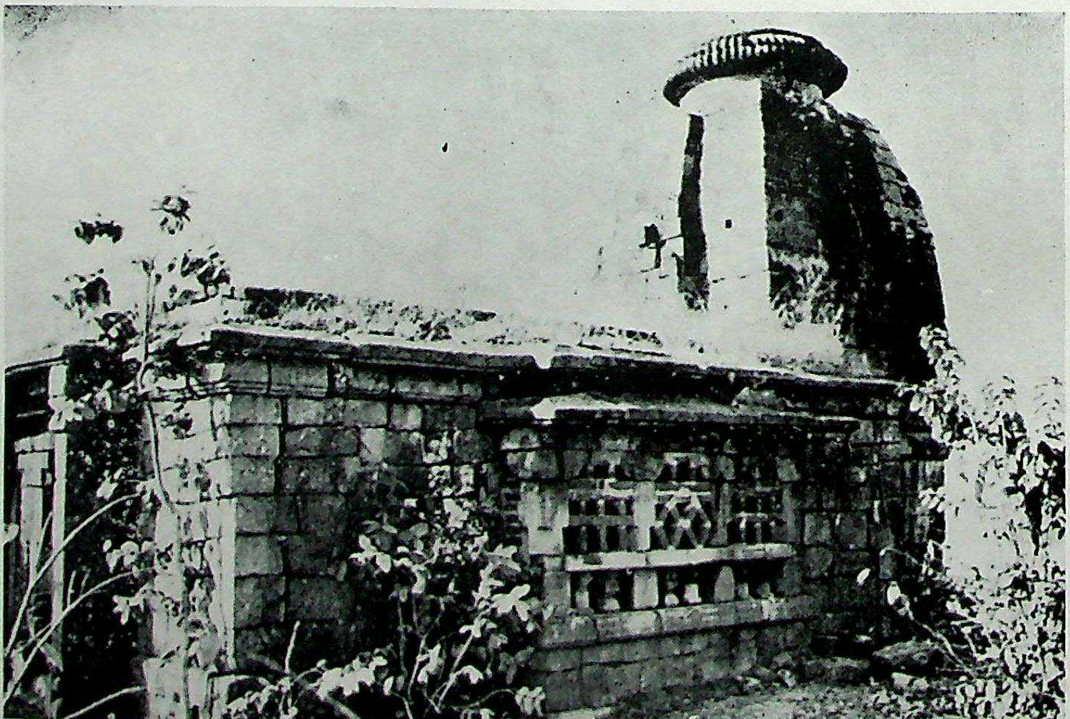

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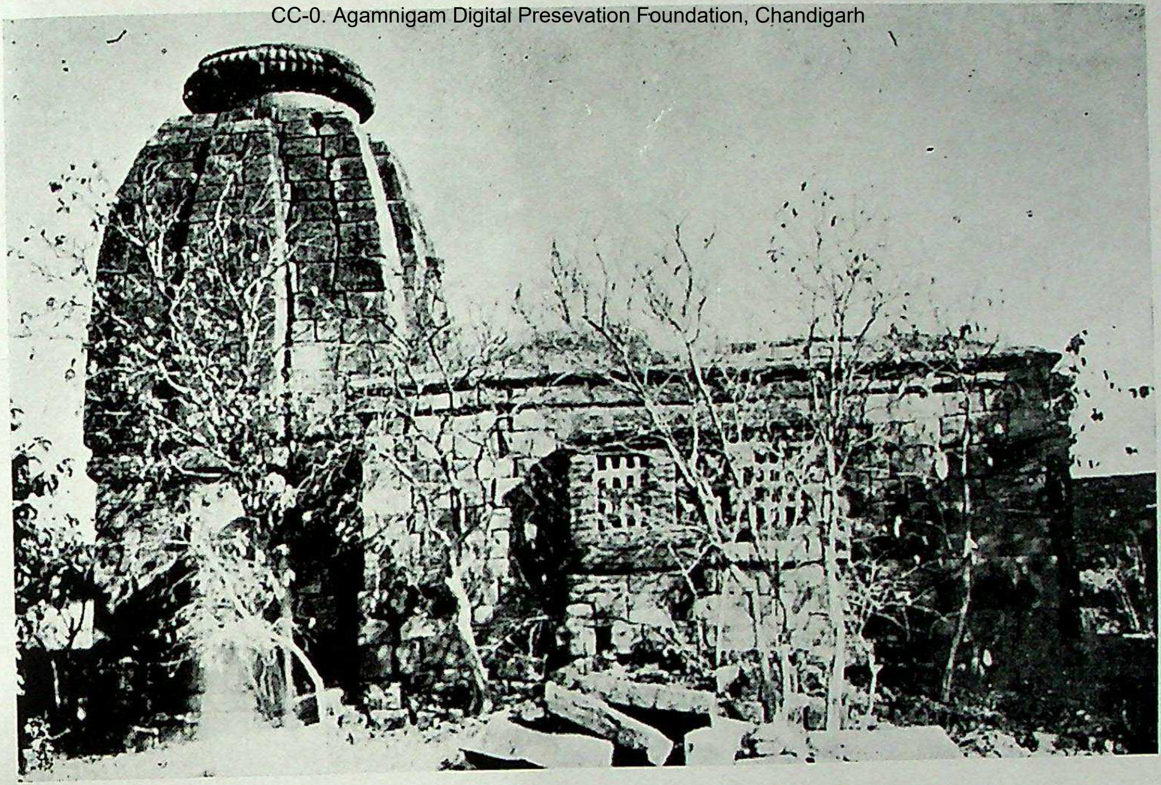

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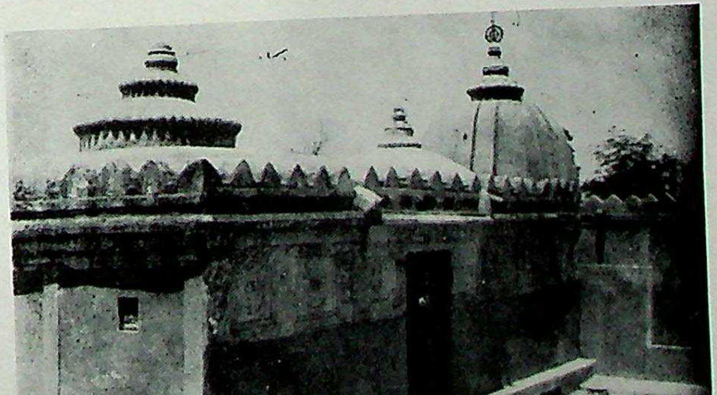

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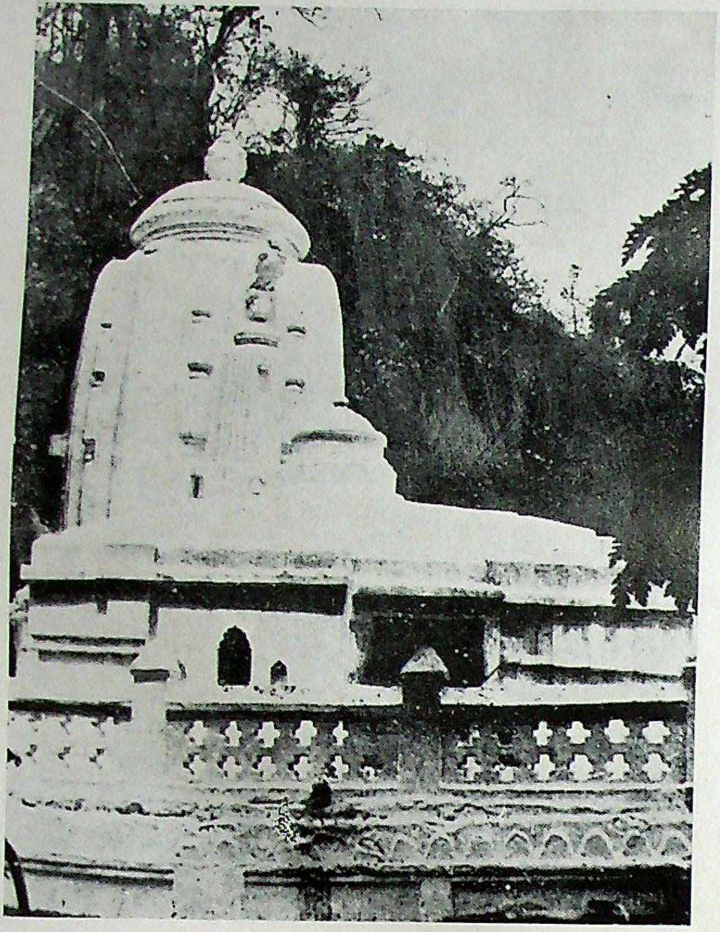

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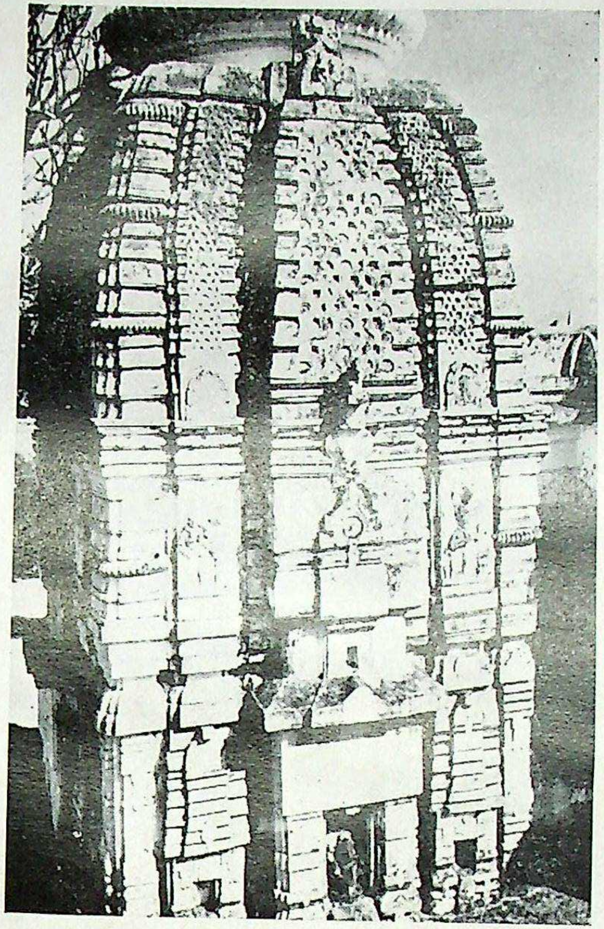

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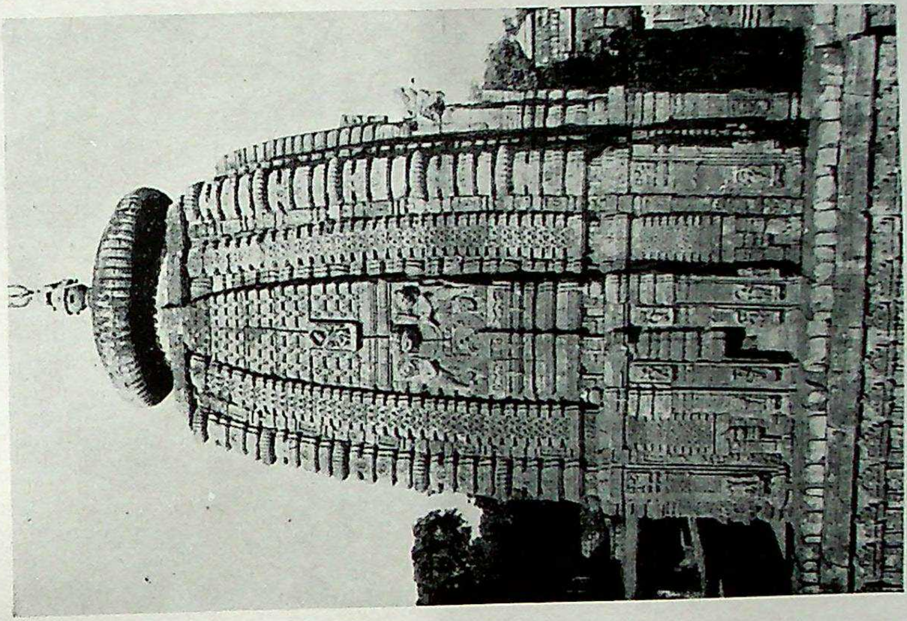

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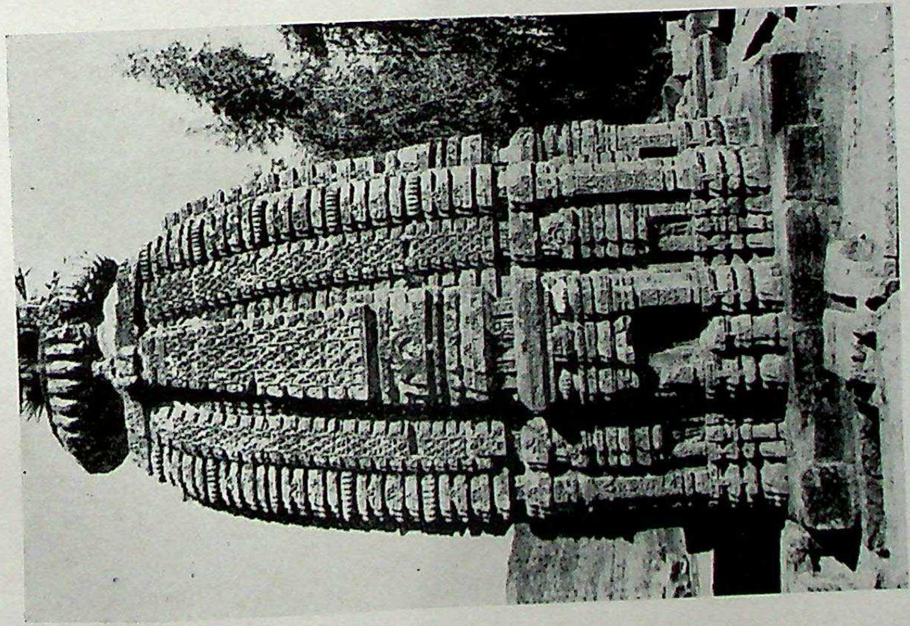

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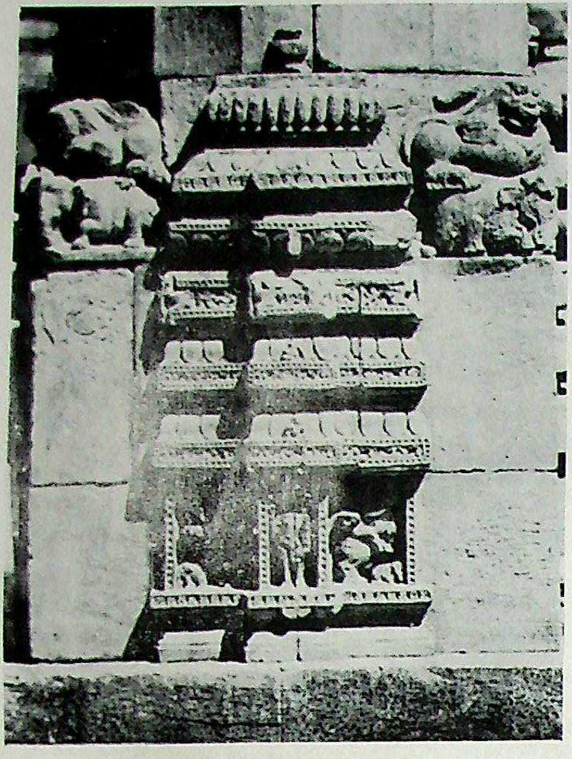

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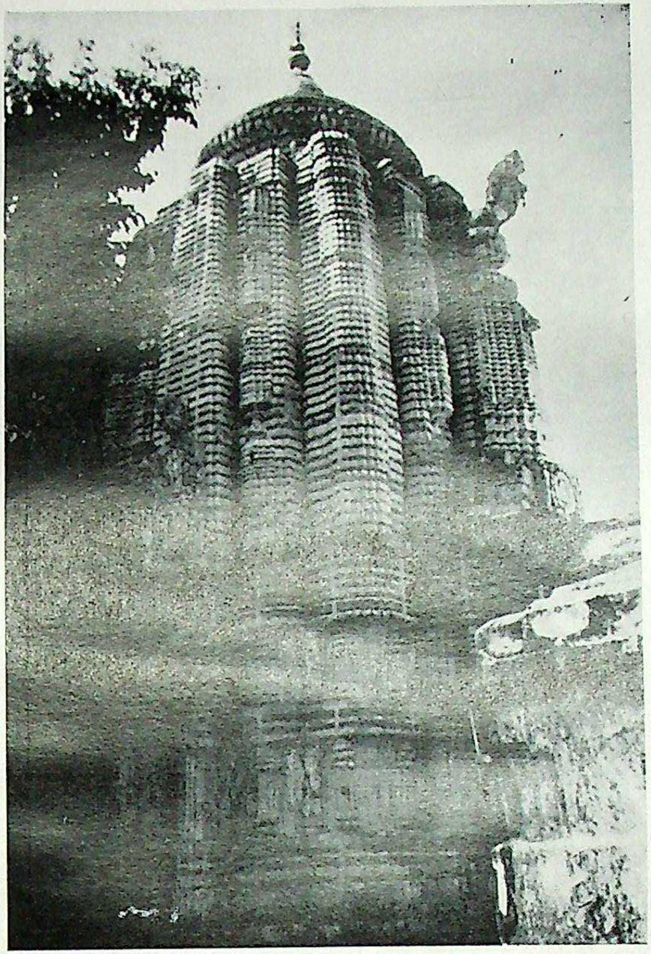

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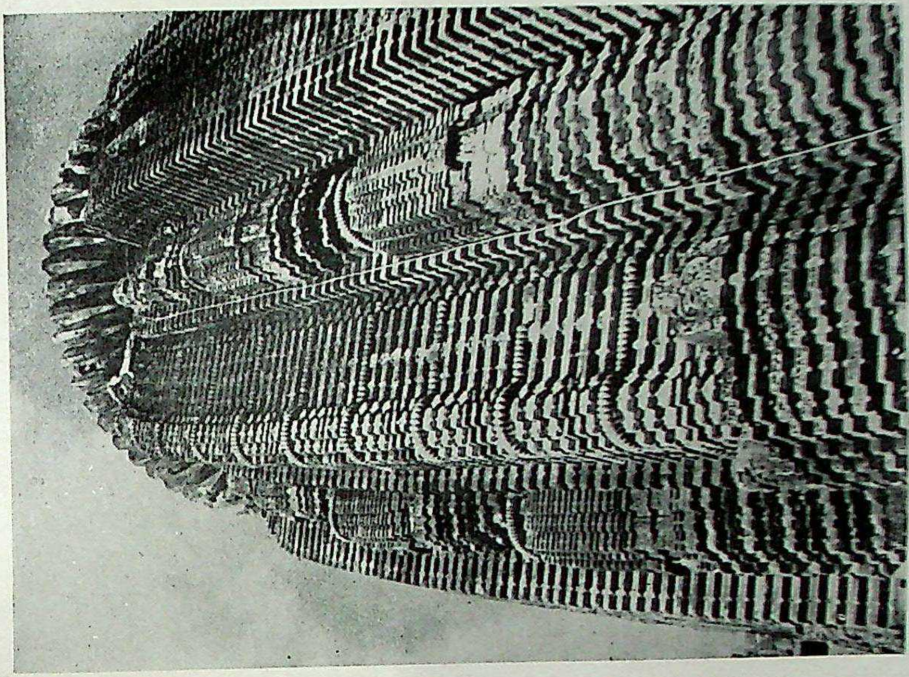

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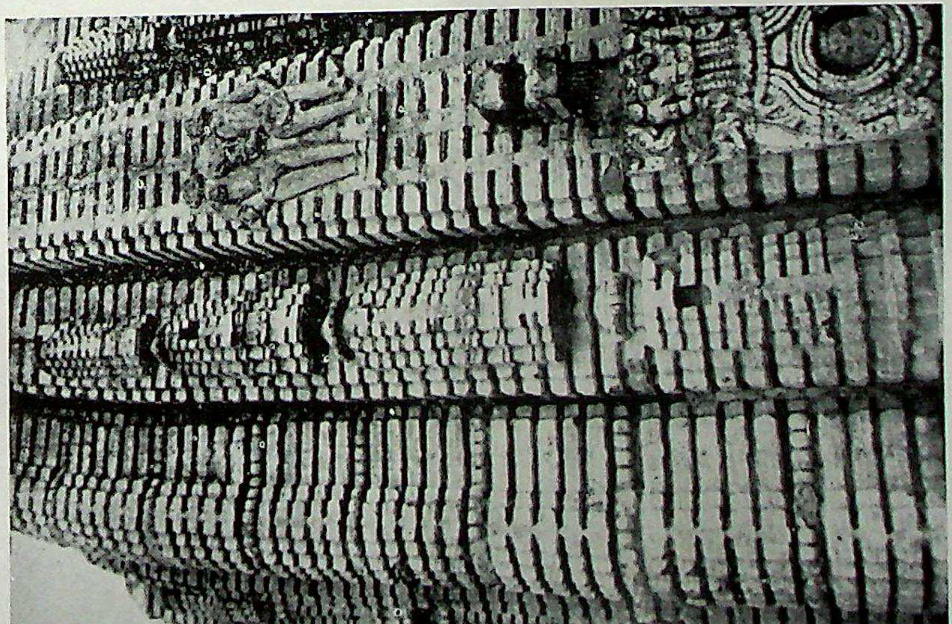

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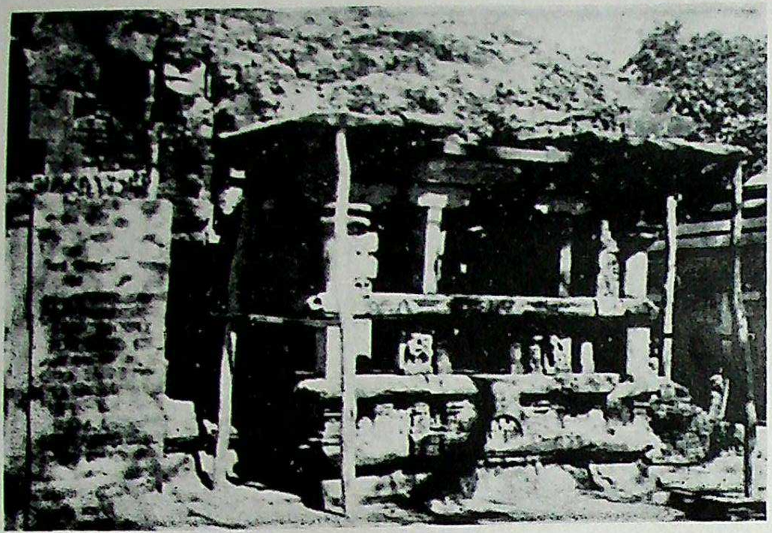

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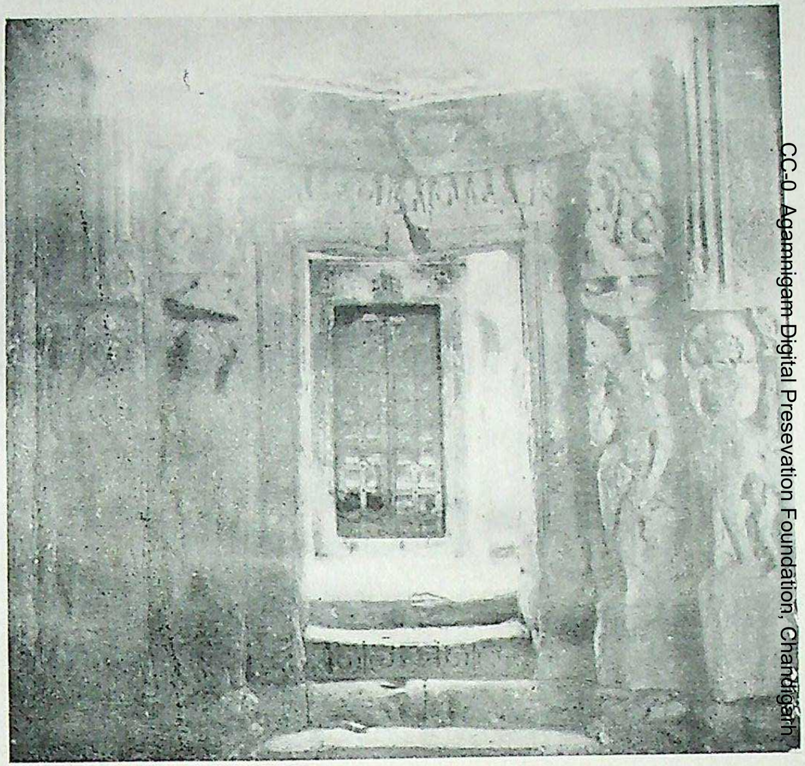

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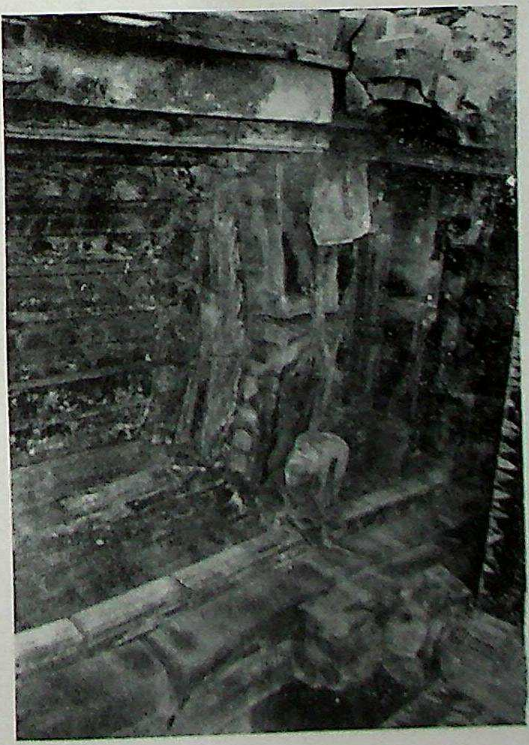

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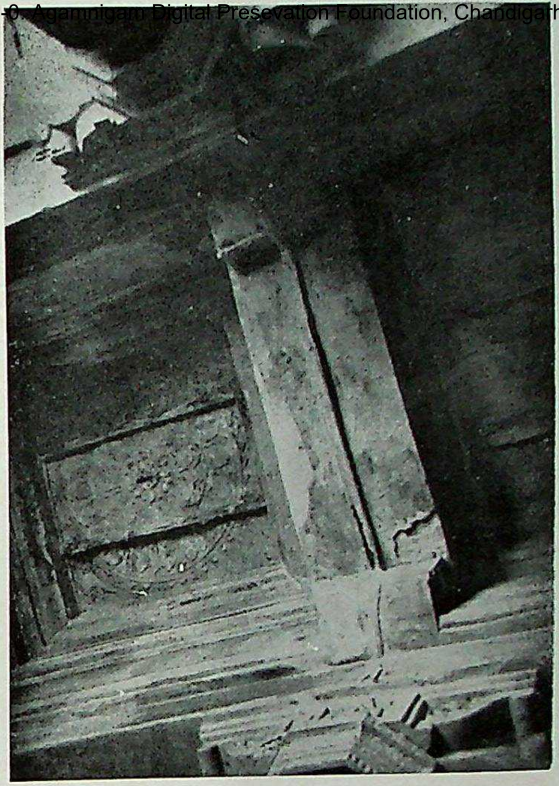

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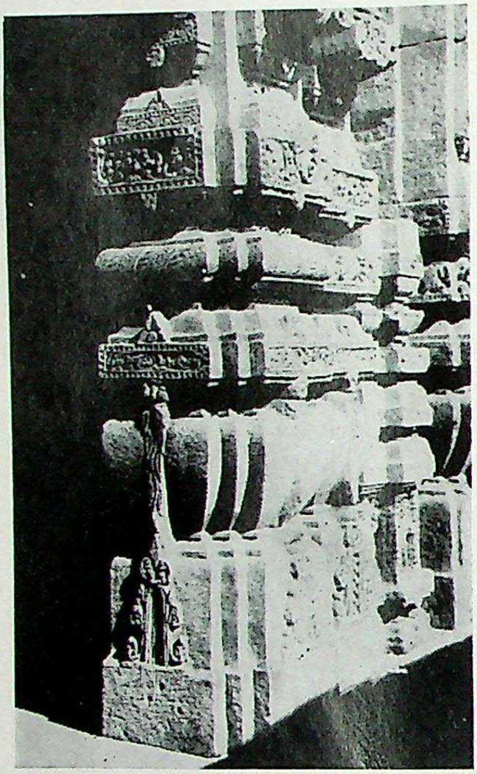

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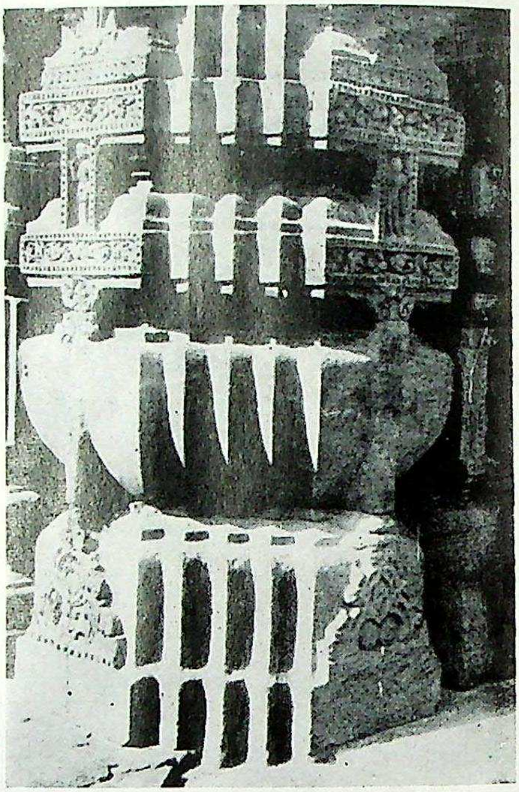

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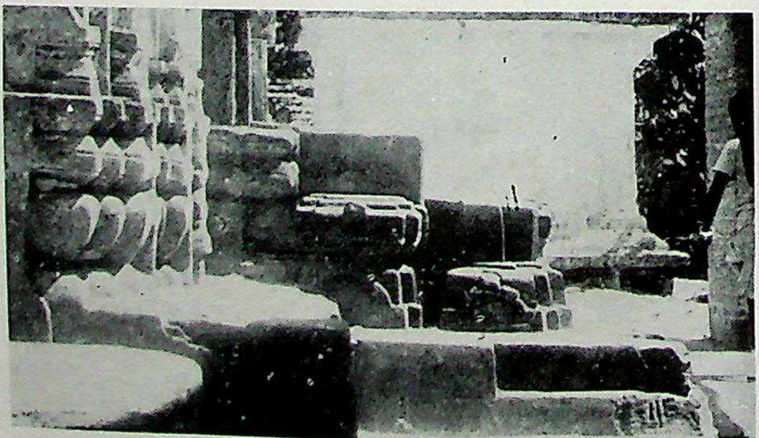

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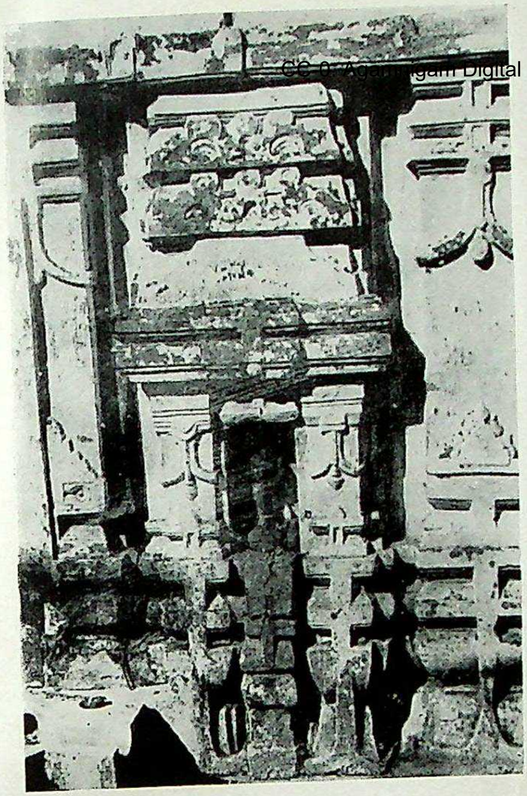

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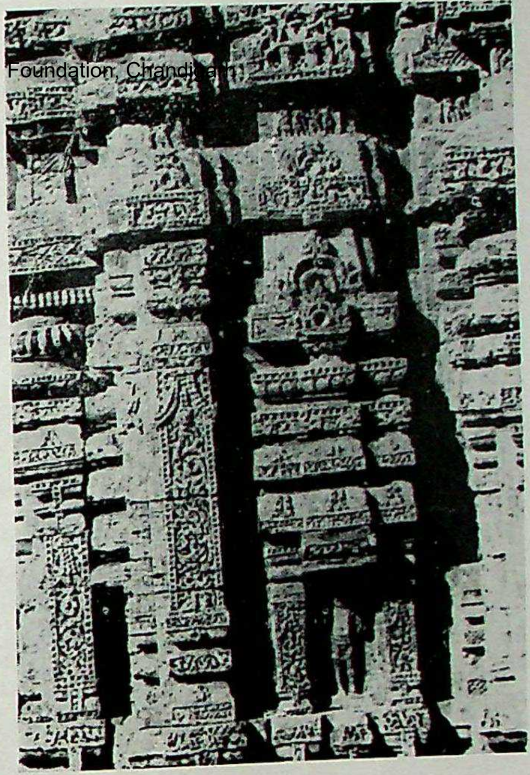

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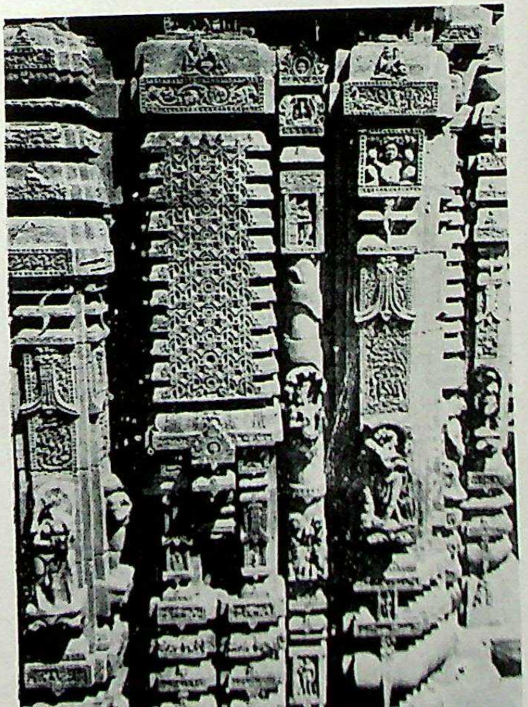

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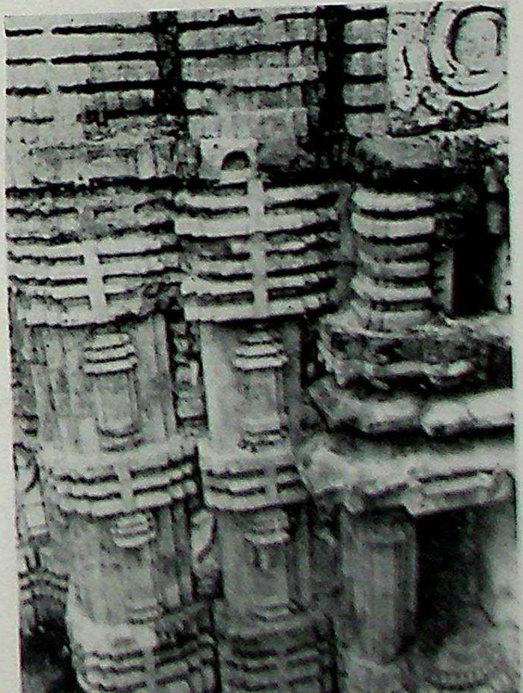

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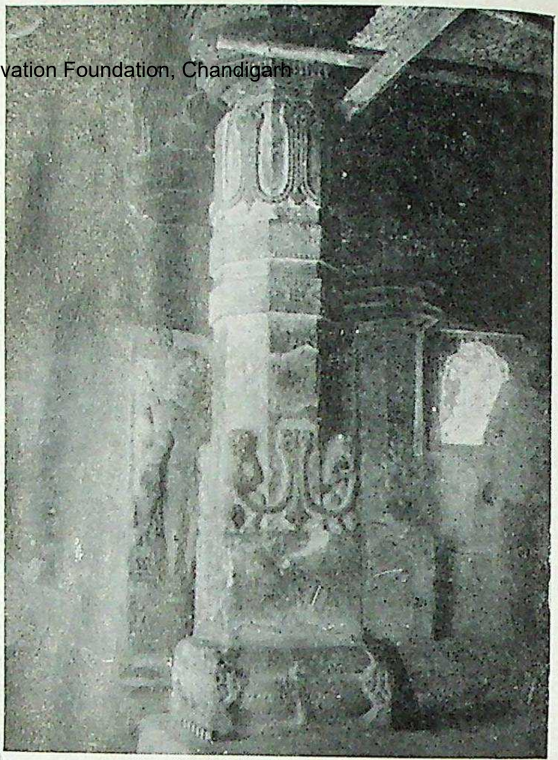

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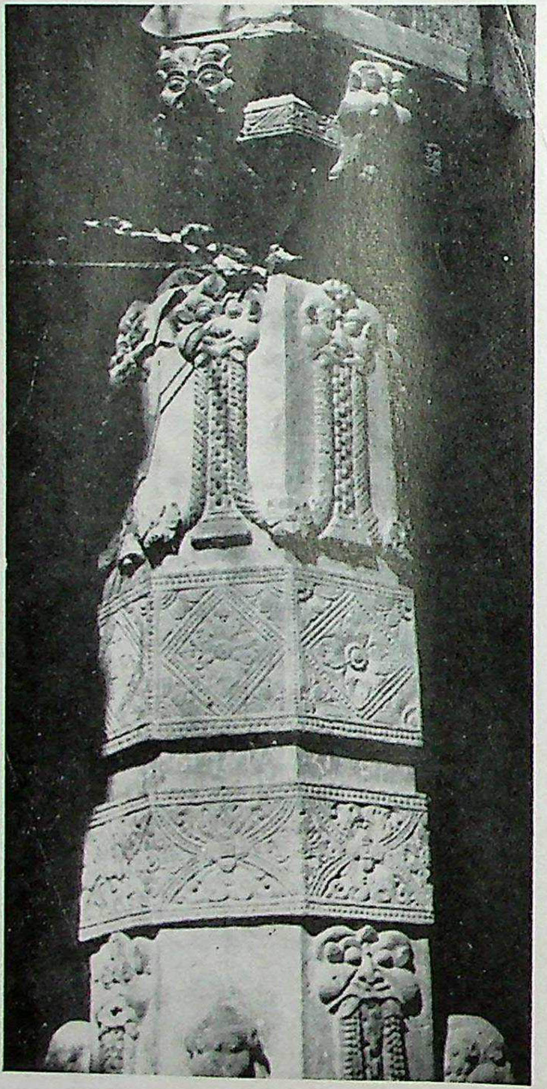

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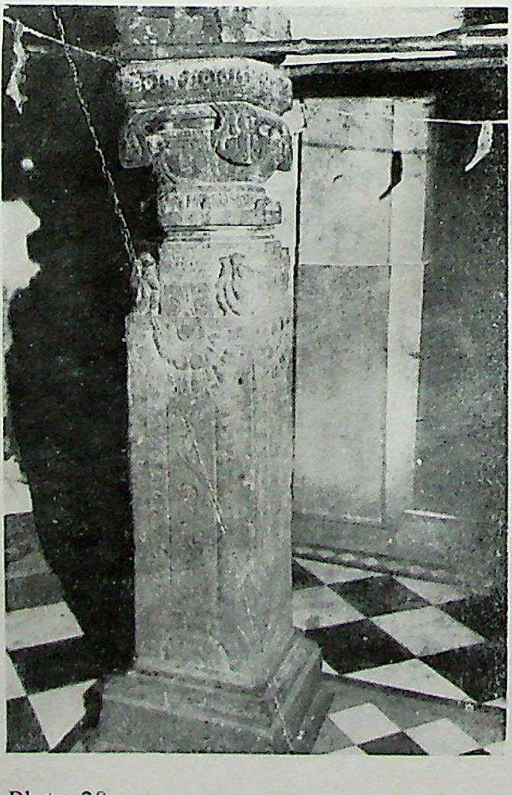

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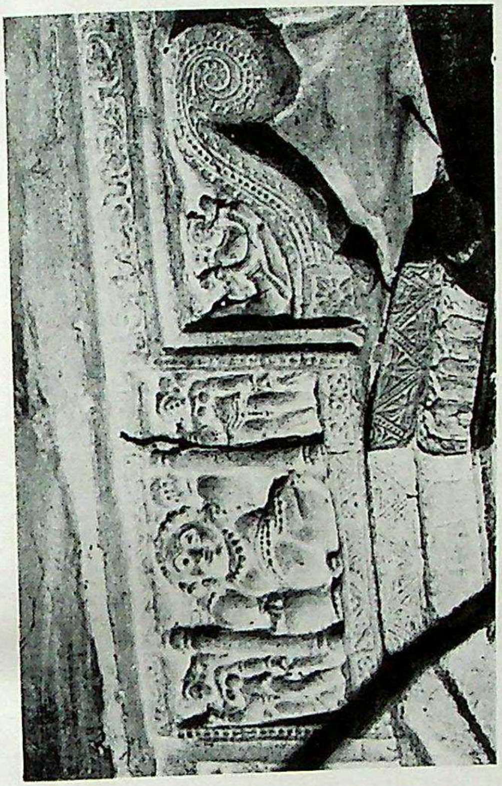

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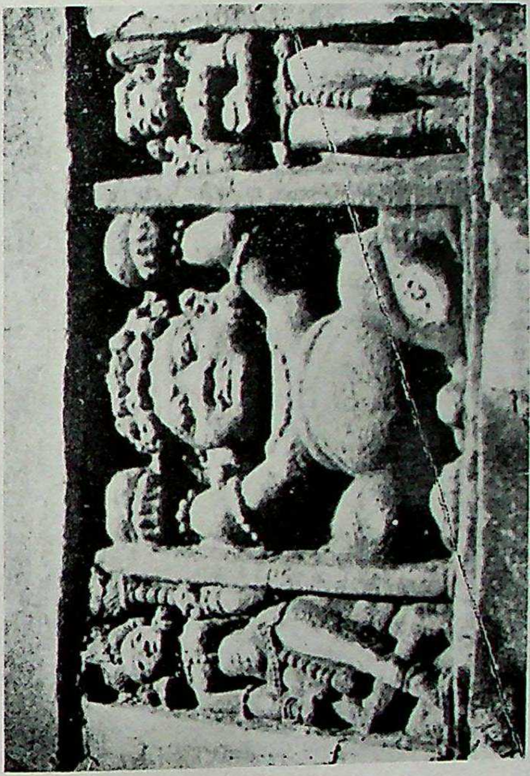

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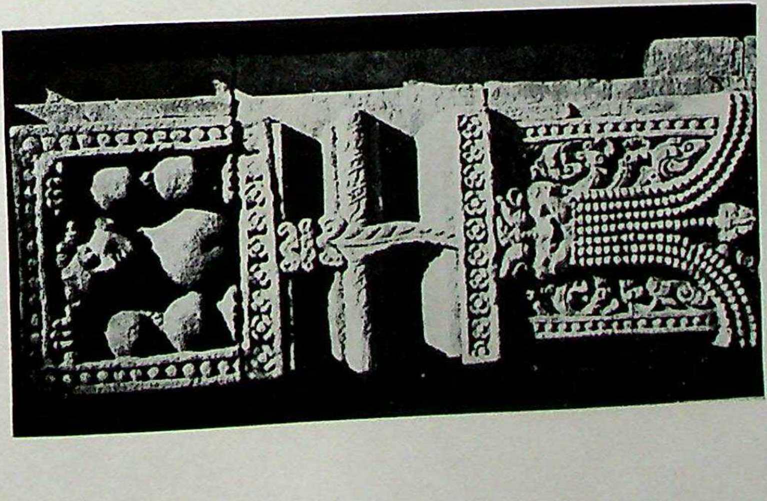

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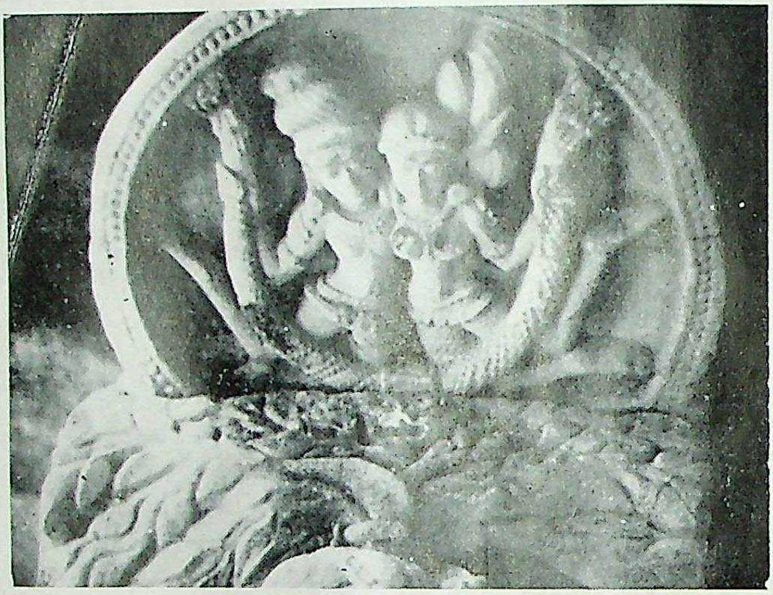

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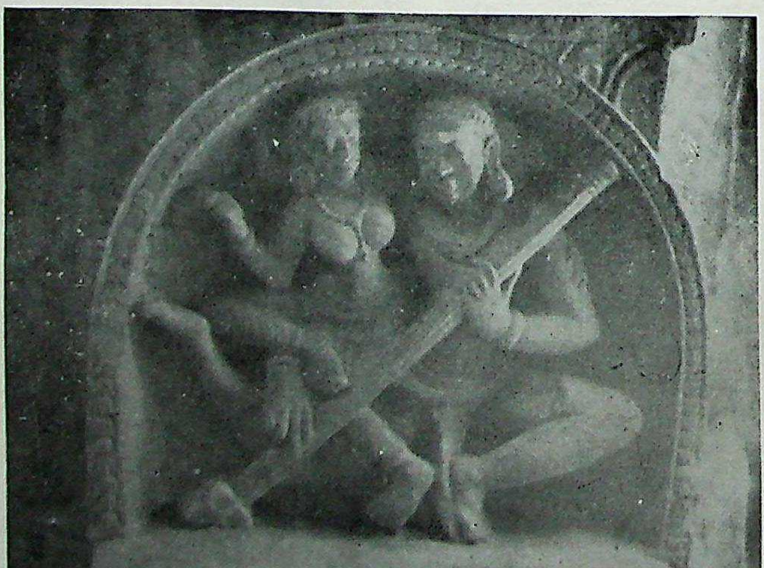

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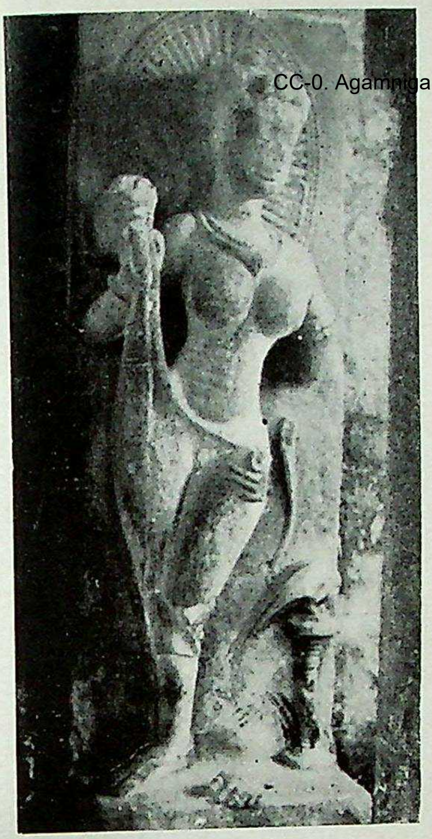

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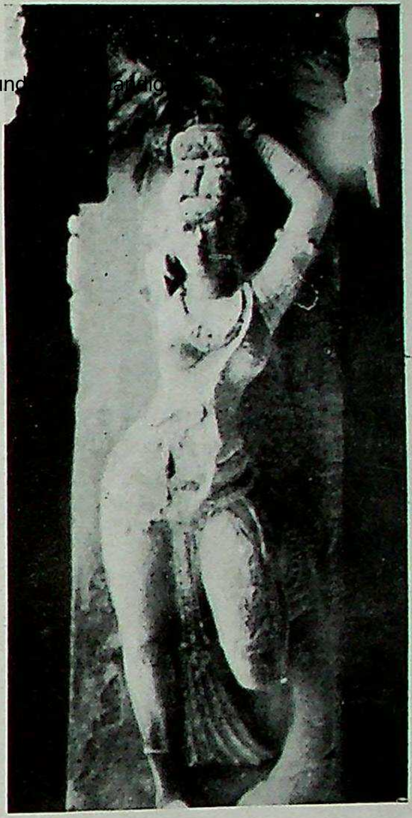

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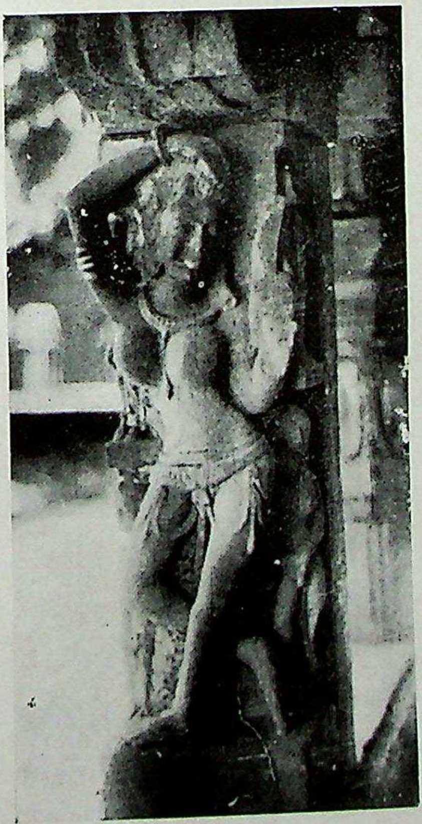

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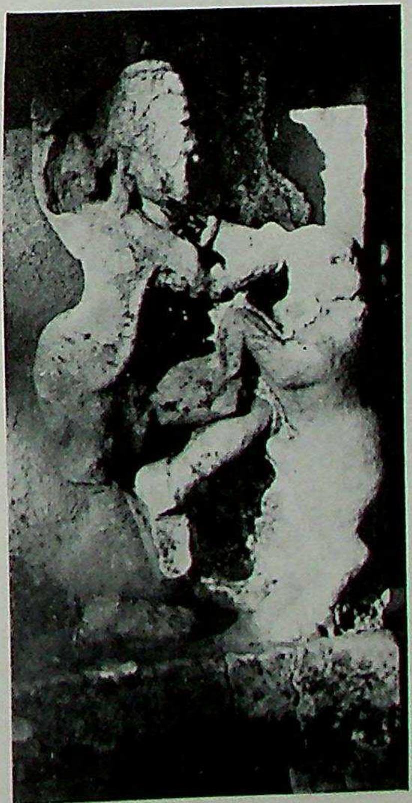


Plate 37

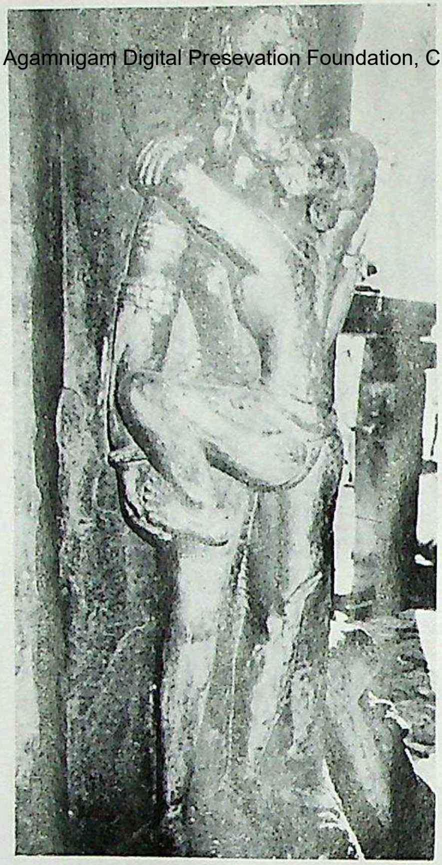


Plate 38

Plate 39

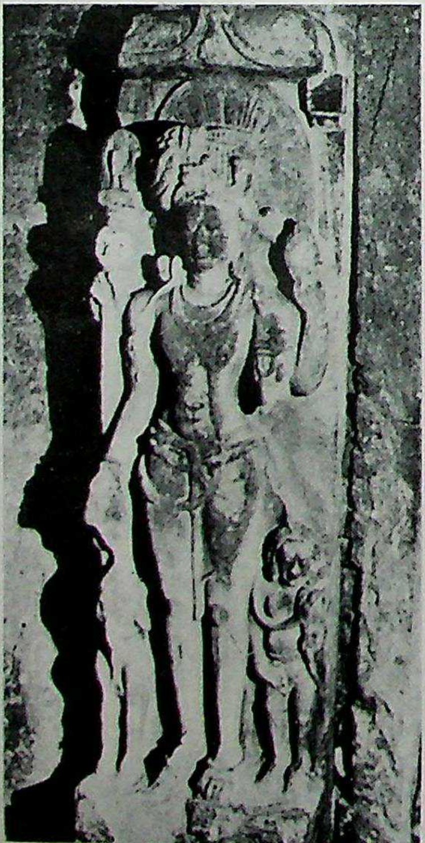
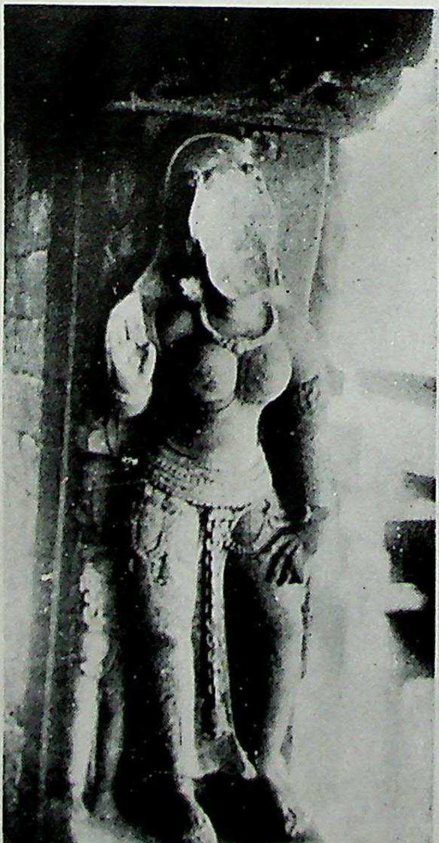


Plate 40



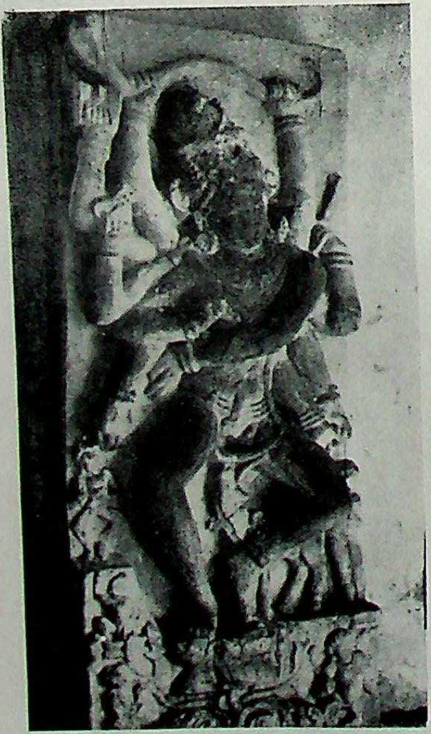


Plate 41

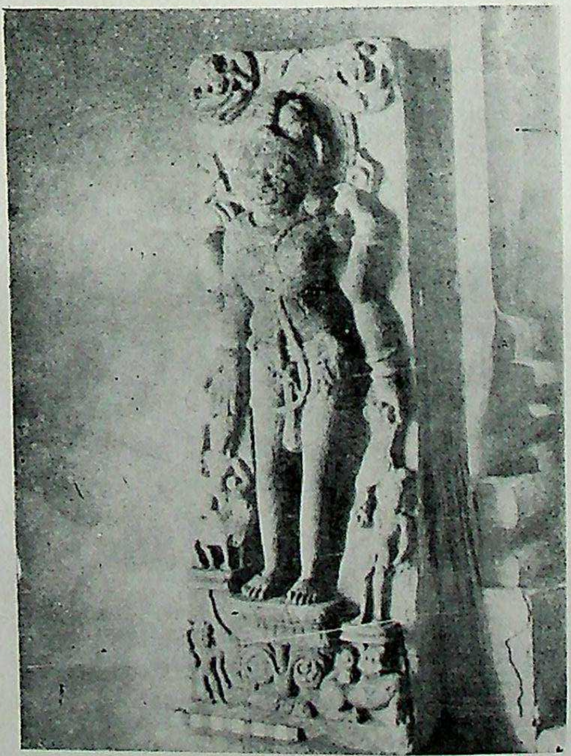


Plate 42

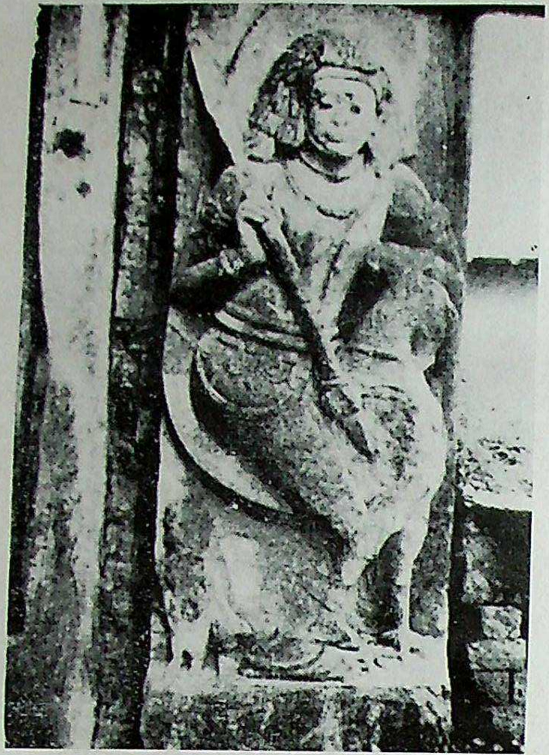


Plate 43

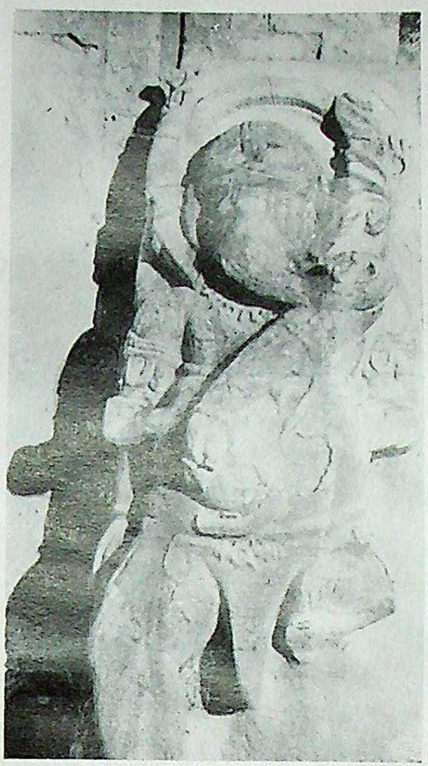


Plate 44

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